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# West Europe Report

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14 May 1980

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 1577

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## DEFENSE MINISTER SEES STRENGTH AS POWER BALANCE

LD240921 Brussels LE SOIR in French 17 Apr 80 p 2

[Report by P. B.: "Mr Desmarets and the Deadline for the Missiles and Armored Vehicles"]

[Text] National Defense Minister Jose Desmarets, guest of the "Cercle Gualois" on Tuesday, considers the Belgian political crisis particularly inopportune in the present climate of tension on the international scene: We are in a position of weakness at a time when we must talk about our possible participation in the Moscow Olympics.

More important still is the choice that we must make on the deployment of "theater weapons" on our territory. Last December NATO decided in principle to deploy in Europe some new-generation missiles capable of responding to the threat that Soviet missiles could pose to the main European cities. Belgium will have to adopt a definite stance on the missile question before the next alliance meeting, which will be held in Ankara in June.

## Order for Armored Vehicles

Another, closer deadline applies to tracklaying armored troop transports. We know that a decision was taken in principle last July and confirmed in December. Lacking some guarantees on apportioning the compensation promised to the various contractors, the national defense minister has so far refused to sign the order which is to be sent to the Belgian firm which bought the manufacturing license for these vehicles from the Americans. But we have recently learned that the subject is to come up before the Council of Ministers on Friday. Can the government give a decision as part of the clearing up of current business? Mr Desmarets replied very clearly in the affirmative when questioned on this subject.

## A Necessary Position of Strength

Meanwhile, the national defense minister stated that, having recently returned from a trip to the United States, he believed that our country

still had a very broad influence despite "certain vicissitudes in our political life." The fact that Brussels is the seat both of NATO and the European communities is not unconnected with this attitude. He added that, with the development of the international situation, we must find the financial means to meet our commitments. He added that an attitude which encourages aggression is certainly not designed to safeguard peace in Europe. In his view a position of strength is the best guarantee of balance. The fact must not be concealed that we have entered dangerous years....

CSO: 3100

## SUBMARINE COMMANDER VIEWS MISSION, MODERNIZATION

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Apr 80 pp 34-35

[Text] The German submarine flotilla has at its disposal 24 submarines of the 205 class and the 206 class. These boats, equipped for effective deployment in the shallow waters of the Baltic Sea, are considered to be the best of their size. In the next few years, the 18 206 class submarines are to be improved in order to increase attack capacity during torpedo firing, according to Cpt Hugo Baldus, commander of the submarine flotilla, in a WEHRTECHNIK interview. When questioned as to the demands made of the new models, Cpt Baldus cited independence from surface air as the most important, "in order to guarantee to the submarine at all times its most important weapon, namely its invisibility." In addition he also wishes to be able to defend against helicopters or modern surface warships in the future. Quarters for the crew will also be improved somewhat.

WT: Today, not only surface vessels are engaged in action at sea, submarines and especially planes are deployed also. What is the role submarines play in modern warfare?

Captain Baldus: Because of their invisibility and the difficulty of determining their location, submarines are the best suited weapon in those seas, in which the enemy normally has control of the area. They are the means with which he can be robbed of that control. This still holds true today. Relating this to our areas of operation and our mission, this means: For frontal defense, our submarines are capable:

1--of engaging the aggressor as early as possible and of hindering his use of the Baltic,

2--of effectively curtailing his supplies,

3--of forcing the enemy into a continuous use of strong defense measures and thus of tying him into an engagement,

4--of assisting in securing the North Sea by engaging submarines and surface vessels.

WT: The German navy has at its disposal two classes of submarines: six of the 205 class, built in the 1960's, and 18 of the 206 class, built at the beginning of the 1970's. Is there any modernization of these submarines under consideration?

Captain Baldus: Progress in technology, especially in the field of electronics, of course also affects submarines. Therefore, we are planning to adapt the 206 class to these developments, especially as far as armament and operation are concerned and to improve them so that they can meet increased demands during their lifetime. This increased effectiveness applies primarily to the operational and weapons systems. The use of modern technologies and installations will help submarines in maintaining high effectiveness for long periods of time.

WT: When are these modernizations to be carried out?

Captain Baldus: Present plans are to modernize the first submarine in 1984.

WT: The submarine's weapon is the torpedo against underwater and surface targets. Do you see a possibility that submarines of the class you have will ever be equipped with different weapons in the foreseeable future?

Captain Baldus: The torpedo will remain the main weapon of the submarine in the foreseeable future. Considerations to equip the submarine in addition with a new weapon, for example a rocket, have two primary goals. For one, it is an attempt to have a defense against antisubmarine units, against which the torpedo is ineffective, as for example, the helicopter and in the future perhaps also the airfoil wing boats or hovercrafts. Secondly, some countries are considering a long-range weapon against especially valuable targets or against such targets which attempt to evade the attack by submarines by navigating in very shallow waters, for example coastal waters. But the earliest such weapons will be introduced will be in the next generation.

WT: You mentioned the catchphrase "next generation." What are your demands on and expectations of new submarines?

Captain Baldus: An essential demand is for independence from surface air, in order to guarantee the boat its most important property, namely its invisibility, at all times. This is especially important in areas of operation in which the enemy can permanently operate with numerous anti-submarine units and planes. We also place high value on installations and equipment which require a minimum in terms of operation and servicing, so that the numerically small crew is not overworked on extended missions.



WT: My trip yesterday on the "U-28" has shown me clearly how limited space on board is. Would it not be possible to consider a little more comfort or just space for the crew?

Captain Baldus: That is also an important point. I already touched on that in my last answer. The future submarine will have to be somewhat larger just in order to give it its necessary effectiveness and ability to stay submerged, resulting also in improved comfort for the crew. But we must also concentrate on improvement of general living conditions, e.g. sanitary conditions on board.

WT: Our submarines are--you already mentioned this--very effective. Do you have any basis for comparison with other submarines, for example during common maneuvers?

Captain Baldus: Of course. We frequently participate in NATO maneuvers, undergo training together with allied navies--our submarines have always compared favorably and have gained a good reputation in other navies. This is due to their technical properties as well as the efficiency of their crews.

WT: Your area of operation is the Baltic Sea, and yet you engage in foreign excursions, once even to the Mediterranean. What is the purpose of these trips?

Captain Baldus: Let me first answer regarding the trip to the Mediterranean. Its purpose was to prove that the U 206 weapons system is effective from the moment sensors spot the target until the detonation of the torpedo. For that, a target ship is needed, as well as an area of operation which has depth and little traffic. Through the cooperation of the Greek navy, we found this opportunity in the Aegean Sea. Our former "Z 1" destroyer and one other vessel were sunk. All our other trips in the Baltic and North Sea area serve missions of training and cooperation with allied navies.

WT: Serving on a submarine is truly not easy--do you still find enough qualified people in spite of this?

Captain Baldus: Is there anybody today who does not have personnel problems? For us, the problem is intensified because in addition to high specialized professional demands we have special health requirements. This makes it difficult to obtain people such as, for example, electricians, for whom there is high demand in the civilian sector. Service on board of submarines itself is no obstacle for those young people who want to go to sea. In this respect we have never had any difficulties.

WT: What advantages do men who serve on submarines gain based on the harshness of their duty--only the DM 300 additional pay per month?

Captain Baldus: Service on board of submarines with its physical and psychological stress deserves more than financial compensation, which I do

not consider to be an advantage. From time to time, the men have an opportunity to take part in conditioning training at the Sonthofen training center and in terrain resorts which jet pilots are entitled to.

I have never said that the submarine allowance is sufficient. The planned addition, however taxable hardship pay of DM 240 will be a noticeable improvement.

WT: German submarines enjoy a good reputation worldwide--evidenced by submarine exports, among other things. Does the flotilla provide its foreign customers with training as well?

Captain Baldus: This is not part of our mission. But it is only natural that foreign customers voice their wishes for assistance in training. In such cases, the kind and the degree of assistance in training are discussed by the respective diplomatic representative and the appropriate BMVg, based on government treaties. In general, this training is limited to special courses of the submarine troop in organizational and logistic assistance during the first training of export ships in our areas.

9328

CSO: 3103

## JUSTIFICATION FOR INDEPENDENT NUCLEAR DEFENSE POLICY

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Feb 80 p 13

[Article by National Assembly Defense Committee member Charles Hernu:\*  
"Disarmament and Security"]

[Text] For the past few months, the majority has engaged in an odd dance [that involved] making statements and adopting stands in the areas of defense and security. So-called orthodox Gaullists are studying the potential of a European defense. While the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has been condemned by the chief of state who one day is leader of the non-aligned in New Delhi and the next day is a faithful partner in the Atlantic alliance in Paris, during talks with the Federal Republic of Germany--contradictory positions which, by the way, cause no reaction on the part of the majority--he does refuse, however, sometimes feebly, sometimes firmly, to accept the American measures across the board. A great many statements are being made regarding the future of our nuclear forces, affirming the strengthening of the intervention policy in Africa, concerning our naval presence in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, etc. High rank military officials are expressing doubts as to the credibility of our defense while others are advising us to acquire some new tactical nuclear weapons. In short, a "patchwork" of attitudes whose consistency is dubious.

However, in this armed-truce world that has been ours since the last World War, some principles remain on which the government should stand firm. I would sum them up in a simple formula: disarming as far as we can without in any way lessening France's security. [This we should do] keeping in mind the fact that we live in Europe, which is and will remain the main focal point of tensions. In order to reduce tensions in Europe and thereby eliminate any risk of conflict, it seems to me that we should work relentlessly towards detente through solid and general proposals for disarmament, within the rationale and spirit of the Helsinki forum, on one hand, while on the other hand insuring the security of France.

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\*Socialist deputy from the Rhone, member of the National Assembly Defense Committee, chairman of the New Army Conventions.

## Narrow Margin

The margin is narrow, to be sure. We must condemn the attitudes and actions of the two superpowers and fight the strategy of military blocs which, to serve interests far removed from our own, may cause us to take sides, which assuredly is not where we belong. It seems to me that France should strengthen its freedom to decide within its own alliance. Surely its original position in that regard is a factor in stabilizing tensions and will lend further credibility to its proposals. If we do not wish to be integrated into NATO or return to its fold "de facto" via the more harmful route consisting of assuming new responsibilities within a new-type Atlantic alliance, if we oppose the threats hanging over Western Europe because of the Soviets' excessive armaments--particularly with regard to the SS 20 rockets, already in place but suddenly discovered--the route involves proposals favoring a European conference on those threats and tensions, including nuclear weapons. This is the direction of the socialist proposals--unique in that regard--where disarmament is concerned. A position of strengthened autonomy makes them more credible, as would decisions concerning our equally autonomous security. France must become a factor of European balance, truly so and not only on the occasion of a presidential campaign already in progress, for the sake of recapturing control of the majority.

Also a factor of our independence and, consequently, of peace, is our refusal to let our advanced technology be controlled by foreign capital, to allow the potential of our national industries to be diluted, and to meekly accept the compromises made in cultural matters. Government must initiate and intervene, [it must] support national initiatives, and deny any institutionalization of decision-making and implementation procedures, particularly in matters of military cooperation.

In the area of security, such an attitude does indeed involve loyalty to our allies, although without alignment. It also entails reinforcing our autonomous defense and maintaining our nuclear force--as a deterrent, we hasten to clarify.

Therefore I am surprised at the all-out proposals concerning our defense. Compulsory draft for everybody? Why then did we decide to decrease our land forces, why are there at present more career soldiers than draftees? As for the latter, what are they doing, beside waiting--and mostly acting as broom pushers--for the end of a boring year of duty, without any effective training, and, in addition, being subjected to a discipline which in some of its aspects harks back to a bygone era. Professionalizing the traditional units--particularly the regiments intended for overseas action--entails a certain number of questions regarding its [sic] utilization, both abroad and possibly at home. The current reform is unhealthy. It has little credibility, in view of the reserve system that has been instituted, a system founded on a dubious volunteer service without

appropriate weaponry or training. Even officers are questioning [the situation], as has been noted in these pages. So why are there more policemen than sailors?

No priority is given to the Navy, although we have seen lately that there has been a continuous increase in the number of its missions: protection of French economic zones, monitoring of commerce and of our supply lines, and pollution prevention near our coastlines. On the contrary: its current tonnage is less than in 1945, after the scuttling of the fleet! And it will go on decreasing until 1985. I know that a dazzling new blue plan has been announced to us, but, according to what credit schedule and in response to what missions?

Nuclear armaments, considered a sacred obligation under former regimes, have actually seen their credits stagnate. The often-repeated statement that our atomic striking power will be quadrupled in years to come, need we recall it, is the fruit of decisions that predated the current government in power. The sixth nuclear submarine, now reinstated, had been abandoned by the president of the Republic. On the other hand, in the area of tactical nuclear weaponry, a whole new strategy is being instituted, as manifested through statements from various sources. This effort to make nuclear [technology] commonplace (Super-Pluton, heavy radiation bomb, an airborne tactical nuclear weapon: where will it all be used and in what hypothetical situation?) is associated in my mind to an apparent abandonment of our strategy of deterrence, of our view of the national territory as a sanctuary, in favor of participation in adventures in which the involvement of our vital interests is far from obvious. While for a socialist it is morally difficult to admit French nuclear realities, he could admit them in one way only: insofar as that terrible weapon, because of its deterrent power, would ward off conflict rather than making it commonplace, both for France and for Europe.

Personally speaking--but it will be clear that most of these proposals already enjoy wide support within the Socialist Party--I feel that the maritime portion of our nuclear force should be strengthened. It is the only force that may be considered as totally independent. Thus, in the next 20 years, we should acquire 10 additional nuclear submarines, including some attack submarines, and we should strengthen their autonomy by acquiring a national satellite system. Research must therefore address itself towards monitoring and spotting systems and towards the counter-measures pertaining to those systems.

Traditional naval forces must be provided with new, sturdy vessels, seaworthy in all weathers, not too sophisticated to give them maximum capability in fulfilling their tasks in the areas of prevention, coast guarding, protecting our maritime economic space, and this at an affordable price.



France's air cover could be better insured by making a special effort towards the security of our bases.

#### A Fairer Service

Our land forces should be modernized in the area of light equipment. If we can accept the principle of constructing equipment in cooperation with our allies, as frequently happens, we should see to it that the equipment selected actually corresponds to our own needs, and that we keep procedure and maintenance in line with advanced technologies. From that standpoint, we could not accept the option of a cooperation that would be institutionalized or would tend towards extreme standardization.

A reduction in the national [military] service, its regionalization and democratization would enable us to facilitate a better symbiosis between the army and the nation, with emphasis on training rather than on confinement to barracks. With a fairer, more attractive national service, the youth of this nation would surely feel that it is taking part in the security effort. A period of volunteer service, shortened to avoid a harmful professionalization, would make it possible to create a young leadership and eventually return it to civilian life.

Furthermore, as defense should be everybody's business, it will be necessary to rethink the way selections develop and are determined. Parliament members who vote on appropriations, must be included, as must those who are leaders of the nation's life blood. It would thus be desirable to institute without delay some sort of high political-military general staff for analyses and proposals, [a staff] that would operate by consensus, study the crises and formulate hypotheses in matters of defense as well as disarmament. [It would be desirable] also through parliamentary controls, to regulate sales of arms to foreign countries, the exclusive domain of a few high public employees and a few representatives of private interests, and to reorganize the defense ministry to prevent the client from being his own supplier.

Finally, we need the courage to launch a true management and construction program for fallout shelters particularly for the sometimes urban areas surrounding nuclear sites or military control and command posts.

France's defense policy is too ambiguous at the present time. Did the chief of state, who alone with a defense council makes decisions regarding our future security, [did he] without consulting the nation's elected representatives on such grave issues, choose to redirect our defense policy? In what direction? Is he waiting for a possible reelection before unveiling his real intentions? Are we using tact to reenter the Atlantic alliance, or is France a nation in a position to speak and act regarding European detente with some credibility? Whatever the circumstances, these issues should be put before all Frenchmen, excluding none.

11936

CSO: 3100

## MORE FINNISH JOBLESS YOUTHS MIGRATE TO SWEDEN

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Mar 80 p 3

[Text] Finish young people can walk right into local government offices in Sweden or to the Marabou company in Sundbyberg, to the Grand Hotel or the Sheraton and get a job without having to bother about a referral from the government employment service or any other formalities.

This is what Petri Salonen and Jaana Saarinen did. Today Petri is making chocolate at Marabou. Last fall Jaana was cleaning at the Sheraton for a month, but then she quit because she was expecting a baby.

"I just got out of military service in July of last year, but could not find work," says Petri. "Jaana was out of work then. We also wanted to live together, but could not find a place to live in Finland."

I sent in an application for a job in Sweden from the employment service office in Harjavalta. They told me that I had no chance of getting a job here, but added sullenly that I could send out the papers anyway.

## A Few Hundred Marks and an Address

Petri never got an answer. He and Jaana decided to go to Sweden at their own risk with 400-500 Finnish marks in their pockets and the address of a girl they could stay with.

"We went to the employment service at Luntmaker Street in Stockholm. There they told us: 'We can't help you at all if you don't have a referral slip....But if you can find a job washing dishes for a couple of days, you can come back and then we'll see what we can do.'"

The point was that then they would already be working in Sweden and could consequently be treated like any other applicant....

Jaana went to clean rooms at the Sheraton.

"There everyone is from Finland," she told us.

In the meantime they had difficulties with a place to stay. They had to move away from the Finnish girl's one-room apartment where they already been for a while. Then they crashed at another friend's in Farsta. They had to move again after 3 weeks.

"For some time I brought my belongings to Marabou, because I didn't know where I would be going in the evening," Petri says.

They couldn't get any help from the social services, since they had no social security numbers.

That problem was solved during a visit to the immigration office at Solna; finally they got a place to stay at Huvudsta..

"No" in Finland--"Yes" in Sweden

A couple of weeks ago Petri's sister Taina came over with her boyfriend Olli Kantola. Olli found himself in the same situation as Jaana and Petri; he could support himself only by temporary jobs in Finland.

"They never last more than 6 months and pay only 1,100 marks. After taxes that means 900 marks, approximately, in hand," says Olli. "You can't live on that."

Olli applied for a job in Sweden in November, but he never got any answer.

"The employment agent in Pori said that we had no chance of getting a job in Sweden," says Olli.

Now both of them work at Marabou in Sundbyberg.

There friend Ari Hilli got a letter of confirmation that his job application had reached Sweden, but then he never heard a word. He, too, got tired of waiting and went to Sweden anyway and applied for a job at Langbro hospital, where he still works.

"Some 10 friends of ours have come over since the summer. None of them has come through the efforts of the employment service, according to the first five."

**This Is How Things Should Be Done:**

The Finnish employment service sends an application to the Swedish employment service which returns a letter of confirmation to Finland. Then the application has to be answered from Sweden within 2 weeks. If there is a job available, the employment service in Finland makes out a referral card with the name of the employer. Arrangements for a place to live will also have been made.

In Finland some 30 "Nordic" employment agents work in centrally located employment service offices in order to "channel" applicants. This is how attempts are made to avoid having young people, especially, left without a job, money and a place to live.

In reality the collaboration evidently is only working between the offices in Haparanda and Uleaborg-Rovaniemi. Agents in these offices have plenty of experience. But in Stockholm, for example, agents do not even have time to answer the applications.

Whoever comes here without a referral card can become a "legalized" applicant by having the Swedish employment agent fill out such a card after the face and at best call a colleague in Finland to check if the applicant has asked for a job in Sweden....

Two out of 20 employees at the Karolinska hospital come through the employment service, according to a personnel officer at the hospital.

Half of all the jobs at Marabou in Sundbyberg are filled without the assistance of the employment service.

The Finns are popular among employers.

"There are unemployed Swedes, but the employers prefer new people from Finland. One reason for this preference for Finns who have just come to Sweden is the fact that the Swedes demand more benefits. Those who have just arrived are not aware of their rights," says Olle Ohlsson, head of the district office of the employment service at Sundbyberg. He is quoted in a report about this very problem by Else Jermo and Annukka Leistikio.

Employers also say that the employment service cannot get them good or dependable employees--often the service cannot get employees at all.

Ohlsson says that the employment service does not have the resources to contact colleagues in Finland. This proves impossible merely on the basis of language difficulties.

"This is the way things are at most companies," says Soren Alvegard, head of the personnel office at Marabou/Sundbyberg.

"Should we throw out the young people from Finland when they are right at our door?" The employment service has also said that it is just another unnecessary exercise of paper shuffling to turn to the Finnish employment service. The job market is still free and open.

The Finnish young people are up against the wall then they decide to move to Sweden.

Some 33.3 percent, that is one-third, of the 15- to 25-year-olds in Finland are unemployed. The corresponding figure for young Swedes is 5 percent, and 10 percent for young immigrants in Sweden.

The young people mentioned in this article received 1,100 marks (1,230 Swedish kronor) for a part-time job in a special program for unemployed youngsters. Another point of comparison: an 18-year-old boy or girl can start at 4,471-5,146 Swedish kronor per month at Marabou in Sweden.

Swedish companies, local governments and municipalities still employ Finnish young people without going through the employment service. Thereby they break agreements that they have promised to honor.

Attempts by the authorities to channel immigration into Sweden have been basically unsuccessful. Unemployment in Finland forces Finnish young people to go to Sweden in order to survive.

More than half of these young people go to the Stockholm area. Many of them do not find work there either. There is a great danger that they will start abusing alcohol and drugs.

Since 1973 an agreement for the channeling of applicants has been in effect. In this agreement parties have promised not to employ so-called wild applicants, that is applicants who are not applying via the employment services in Finland and Sweden. However, this agreement does not mean that applicants must apply via employment services, only that they ought to do so.

#### Signed

In 1973 and 1977 the following organizations signed the agreement to channel job applicants; the Swedish Employers' Confederation and the Labor Unions in Sweden, the Finnish Employers, the Finnish Ministry of Labor, the Swedish Labor Market Council, organizations for local government employees, the state-supported industries, the Co-operative Union and Wholesale Society and Sweden's unions for trade and industrial workers.

The agreement says that a person who wants to move from Finland should first turn to the Finnish employment service.

An applicant is not supposed to be able to get a job in Sweden unless he/she has a confirmation from the Finnish employment service in the form of a referral card with the name of the Swedish employer.

"The goal was to have three-quarters of the total number of applicants go via the employment service," says Arja Munter, a researcher at the Migration Institute at Abo, in her report entitled "The Role of the Public Employment Service in the Migration Between Finland and Sweden."



## Report

As early as 1978 the Finnish Ministry of Labor asked the Migration Institute and the Swedish Labor Market Council to investigate how many came via the employment service.

The final report is expected at the beginning of April. But Munter's preliminary report shows that these efforts have met with opposition.

In 1974, 45 percent came via the employment service, in 1978 the figure was 20 percent. "The proportion of applicants who come via the employment service has been decreasing every year," says Munter.

Other figures from the report show that 80 percent of those who come to Sweden are less than 30 years old. Most of them are girls, mostly unmarried; they have a better education and a better knowledge of Swedish than do the boys who come.

The high "illegal" immigration is corroborated by another report, entitled "Home Is Fine, but East or West Are Better," written by Else Jerno and Annukka Leisti, both of whom have extensive experience with immigration matters.

## Denial

In spite of these reports, both Finnish and Swedish authorities prefer to deny the correctness of the figures.

"Close to half of the applicants come via the employment service," say officials at the Swedish employment service.

"I would estimate that 30 to 35 percent come via the employment service," says Risto Laakkonen, labor attache at the Finnish Embassy.

"But, obviously, it is not the responsibility of the employment service to prevent people from moving. It is clear that this agreement meant a compromise for the Fims. They wanted to force applicants to go via the employment service," says Laakkonen.

8901

CSO: 3109

## MEASURES FOR PROMOTION OF TOURISM PROPOSED

Nicosia O AGON in Greek 10 Apr 80 p 3

[Text] The Association of Recreation Center Employers has sent to the minister of commerce and industry a memo in which it analyzes in great detail the prospects, and also the weaknesses, of the tourist industry in Cyprus.

The memo reads as follows:

The tourist industry on our island, which has many prospects for development, is in danger of being destroyed if we are not mindful of certain basic things. Among these are three fundamentals: fair prices, quality of services which we provide and recreation. We would like to express certain viewpoints about these issues.

1. The prices of all tourist operations provided to tourism must be kept within fair frameworks in order for them to be able to be offered to the wide spectrum of the tourist market. This broad placement of our prices will help us address ourselves to all social levels of tourists; we will arm our tourist economy with solid supports able to withstand any serious dangers whatsoever. In addition, fair prices alleviate the effects of the great distances separating us from the large tourist markets.

Taxes, the rise in prices and increase in labor costs will very shortly force us to not have competitive and fair prices; the tourist attraction to Cyprus will be decreased.

The public economic policy being followed to solve the basic economic problems of one country can be complete and fully in accord with similar international treatments. However, such political autonomy places us within the international "economic arena" of the corrupt cycle of all increases. We, however, have different interests and we must also have different orientations. We deal in our tourist product which, in order to have passed into the international tourist market, must have fair prices and, in order to be purchased, must be attractive. For this, we must have different orientations and pursuits. When we talk about

luxury items, we must not make the mistake of believing that these are the same for tourists. Imported alcoholic beverages are a basic part of their customs and part of the tourist product which they buy. Imposition of taxes and the rise in prices restricts their buying power, their time and their manner of recreation.

The issue of luxury items is valid for us and it is right that it be valid. But this cannot be valid for tourism. For one to buy a bottle of whiskey at the store for his home is different from a recreation center or hotel doing so. Whiskey and other imported items are bought by the centers to be converted or used as a means of business and as a basic part of recreation and dining. If these items are an addition to the operation's other expenses then they create the cycle of the rise in prices and directly destroy that which we are pursuing, fair prices. It is just and fair that these problems have different treatments and other ways of being confronted.

2. The quality of services provided must be maintained and improved. We cannot stay on the tourist map without quality services. But quality service is not only the art of attendance and courteous feelings; it is related to the customer's plate of food and his drink. Taxes and the rise in prices will inevitably influence quality and quantity. Something which has made and makes an impression on our foreign visitors is our distinguished manner of service. Serving of the rich series of our mezes and the other fine cuisine is in danger of being lost completely. The exorbitant rise in prices will make the dinners we provide more paltry and each item offered will have its own price. If this happens, and unfortunately it has begun to happen, Cyprus will lose the distinction of its service and will be turned into a neighborhood of a Swiss city where everything is computed. In this mistaken direction in which we are being led, we will meet the destruction of our people's hospitality and distinction.

3. The sector of recreation is a serious factor, if not the most serious in our island's tourist question. The greatest burden of recreation and varieties of recreation is carried by the recreation centers which, unfortunately, continue to be subject to the indifference of the state. The recreation sector must be maintained and developed. We must be concerned about and enliven it. The recreation centers which shoulder this burden need the movement of domestic and foreign tourism; but the recreation of tourists itself needs domestic tourism. This interrelationship of recreation creates the most invigorating and humane feelings between people. It creates cultural contacts and reveals to Cyprus' foreign visitors our people's high levels of culture. But for us to keep the sector of recreation lively, we must first begin with our own domestic movement because this is the principal base. We must eliminate all barriers, first of all the irrational measure of odd-even car circulation. This will keep recreation lively and recreation operations functioning,

above all during the weekends which are the primary days for recreation. However, a serious role in this issue will be taken by a different manner of confronting the tax issue. The more we confine people to their own homes, the more we destroy recreation and tourism. In all these ways we destroy our country's tourist future. Our pursuit must be more income from tourist operations and not from indirect taxes, more night life and not restrictions like the odd-even regulation. Tourism is the most lively and sensitive industry and it needs analogous conduct and measures conformed to it.

9247

CSO: 4908

## BRIEFS

**DRIVING RESTRICTIONS**--The government will decide by mid-May how much the coupons measure or the measure for alternate car circulation--one day a week, according to the car owner's preference--will be applied. According to our information, the issue was discussed at the 9 April meeting presided over by the minister of commerce. It seems that the issue of abolishing the odd-even system was also discussed; it is possible this measure will be ended since it has had no effect on fuel savings. In the meantime, there are specialists in Cyprus who are visiting industries and suggesting ways to save energy. The following announcement on the energy problem was issued on 9 April: "On 9 April, Minister of Commerce and Industry Andreas Papageorgiou presided over a meeting of the Energy Advisory Board. During the meeting, the presidents of various committees briefed the board on the progress of their activities and there was a general review of the measures which contribute to saving energy and their effects on the various classes of people. The next board meeting was set for 10 May." [Text] [Nicosia O AGON in Greek 10 Apr 80 p 1] 9247

**CAR IMPORT RESTRICTIONS**--Car imports will be prohibited for a sufficient period of time or they will be restricted to low levels. The government is studying this plan in its effort to restrict the export of exchange which, in this sector, amounts to many million pounds a year. Government circles consider the introduction of such a measure indispensable after verification that with the increase in the price of cars, sales of new cars are also increasing, resulting in an increase in gas consumption. At the same time, there is study of a suggestion that persons having a private car be forbidden to sell or exchange it for a new one before they have owned it for a long period of time. Cases in which a vehicle is of no use because of deterioration or accident will be exempted from this measure. In the meantime, the government's monetary and credit policy will be restrictive and selective so that financing of productive investments and priority sectors will not be influenced. The government has already prepared a plan which provides for the highest financing terms for non-productive purposes, while issuance of bond loans worth 10 million pounds is being programmed. At the same time, the system of fiscal and other incentives within the current year will be reconsidered so that productive investments, savings and influx of foreign capital will be stimulated. [Text] [Nicosia O AGON in Greek 10 Apr 80 p 1.] 9247



TEACHERS' GRIEFS--The relations of teachers and the government relative to evaluations are being newly tested; serious problems have been created in the last few days with the highest point being the consequences accruing from the recent assessments. POED [Pan-Cyprian Greek Teachers Organization], after the government-OELMEK [Federation of Greek Secondary School Teachers of Cyprus] agreement on gymnasium teachers, is asking that the issue of evaluation be studied with a new lens. It has already denounced the agreement on evaluation to the government. Indicative of the criticalness characterizing the relations of teachers and government is the fact that POED has called its members to provincial meetings on 16 April at 1530 to study the situation and make various decisions. A POED communication says: "Special provincial meetings of members are being called for next Wednesday, 16 April, at 1530, the issue being evaluation, in the following centers: Nicosia, Lykavittos Demotic School; Limassol, First Demotic School; Larnaca, Akropolis Demotic School; Paphos, First Demotic School; Famagusta, Deryneia Second Demotic School and Morfou, Astromeritis Demotic School. Members from other areas may attend at the center nearest them." [Text] [Nicosia O AGON in Greek 10 Apr 80 p 1] 9247

CSO: 4908

## CDU SAID TO SEEK COALITION WITH FDP IN RHINELAND-PALATINATE

## FDP Entry Speculated

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Apr 80 p 4

[Text] mtz. Mainz, 14 April. Vogel (CDU), the minister president of Rhineland-Palatinate, has given new impetus to speculation concerning an entry of the FDP into the government. During a conversation over a glass of wine with editors of the RHEINPFALZ (Ludwigshafen), Vogel described the participation of the Rhineland-Palatinate FDP as being worthy of consideration. This, however, could only be seriously considered after the Bundestag election of 6 October. Since the Landtag election in the spring of 1979 the CDU in Mainz has had 51 seats in the Mainz parliament, the FDP 6, and the SPD 43 seats. On Monday, FDP Land chairman Scholl was unwilling to respond to Vogel's statement. But he too described the FDP's entry into the Mainz government following the Bundestag election as "conceivable," especially since there has always been a good relationship between the two parties in Rhineland-Palatinate. At present, however, a ruling by the party convention prevents a coalition with the CDU. The FDP went into the last election with the decision not to enter into a coalition with any party which holds a majority. According to Scholl's statement made on Monday, no change in this policy is expected to come out of the FDP Land convention which is scheduled for next weekend. A coalition with the CDU would thus have to be preceded by a special convention of the Rhineland-Palatinate FDP.

## CDU/FDP Coalition Possible

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Apr 80 p 4

[Text] There can no longer be any talk about "sandbox games"--now that Vogel, minister president of Rhineland-Palatinate, has begun to entice the FDP into joining the government. The national FDP leadership had described such an attempt in that manner prior to Easter, when a coalition effort was made by the CDU/CSU chancellor candidate. It had been a surprised and frosty response. Perhaps Strauss really had only a political ploy in mind, that is to provoke the FDP into an answer which would have caused the party

to appear as the "bloc party." It is still recalled vividly that Strauss inundated Kohl, the Union's chancellor candidate in 1976, with irony because he had hoped to be able to pry the FDP out of its coalition with the SPD. But prior to going to Bonn, Kohl was what Vogel is now--minister president of Rhineland-Palatinate, where a good relationship has always existed between the CDU and the FDP. Thus a coalition seemed quite natural. Just like Kohl, Vogel wants the same cooperation with the FDP at the national level. Strauss cannot now raise any objections, because he has himself signaled willingness to enter a coalition, and he dare not object because his own candidacy is responsible for the fact that the Rhineland-Palatinate CDU has suffered, and possibly so severely, that it will have to depend on a coalition.

9410

C80: 3103

STATUS OF 'GREENS' IN BADEN-WÜRTTEMBERG LANDTAG DESCRIBED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 14 Apr 80 p 57

[Article: "Soft Spot"]

[Text] First setback for the Greens in the  
Stuttgart Landtag: Unable to form a fraction,  
they must do without funds and privileges.

An informal sounding position vacancy ad in both local Stuttgart papers held out the following promise: "If you have followed political events during the past week, you will know what to expect: a fun job, stress, a full personal commitment."

The prospective employer who had inserted the ad under a box number in the Easter edition, nevertheless showed his true colors in the text. "The Greens in the Landtag are looking for their secretary."

This job offer was the start of the parliamentary career of six novices who had been elected on 16 March to the Baden-Wuerttemberg Landtag, which now numbers 124 delegates, with a sensational showing of 5.3 percent of the votes. During the past week the fourth party was given office space for the first time and can now even be reached by telephone. But up to the present, the quick resolution of the work space problem appears to be the only progress made by the inexperienced parliamentarians.

To start with, the Greens are hampered by paragraph 17 of the Landtag regulations. To be recognized as a fraction, with all pertinent entitlements, funds and privileges, such a group must consist of "at least eight delegates belonging to the same party."

Immediately after the elections, the six had demanded "certified status as a fraction" and stated that they would "fight for this with all means at their disposal," including, if necessary, administrative or constitutional legal action.

To begin with, the leaders of the three established factions proved to be quite reasonable. Erwin Teufel of the ruling CDU said: "We have no

intention of forcing a decision by virtue of a majority resolution of our fraction." The SPD's Ulrich Lang stated that there was "no intention of solving this problem with a meat ax." Free Democrat Juergen Morlok, who as late as election eve had promised Hasenclever his help toward the formation of a fraction, declared that "the Greens must be given every opportunity for parliamentary functioning."

But when just before Easter reality took over, suddenly nothing seemed to work any more. Had the Greens been given unrestricted status as a fraction, they could have, among other things, demanded the position of Landtag vice president for one of their number and three or four parliamentary counselors; all that from state resources and at government expense.

Also, a fraction receives a monthly basic contribution of DM 19,300 from the Landtag treasury to cover parliamentary business expenses; in addition, the three established fractions share in an annual "supplementary fraction fund" amounting to some DM 670,000.

The CDU, SPD and FDP hacks who are against letting the Greens have either too much money or any status symbols quickly found the novices' soft spot: their always amiable and accommodating chairman, Hasenclever.

Very amiably also, fraction chiefs Teufel, Lang and Morlok proceeded to put the new boy through the wringer. Hasenclever was apparently so impressed with his colleagues' willingness to negotiate and their parliamentary fraternalism that he signed a joint statement with them which was tantamount to a general waiver.

It is true that the agreement accords the Greens almost all rights for parliamentary initiatives (e.g. submitting drafts of proposed laws; proposals for formal debates and major inquiries), which are normally the prerogative of the fractions; also, the Greens will be represented in each of the future eight expert committees and in the senior council.

However, the Greens may not call themselves a fraction. Instead, a new, special status as a "group" is to be established within the procedural regulations. Hasenclever permitted himself to be convinced that his Green Group would be satisfied with the following:

--it would receive only 50 percent of the normal fraction allocation (DM 9,650 instead of DM 19,300) and nothing at all from the supplementary pot;

--it would not be represented in the Landtag Presidium and would therefore not be entitled to a position therein;

--it would have to be satisfied with only two parliamentary counselors which in addition it would be required to hire and pay, though with a contribution of DM 170,000.



In this way the Landtag avoided the necessity of nominating or contributing functionaries for the Greens, as is the custom for the other parties. This would possibly have provided the intruders with juridically experienced and parliamentary sophisticated aides.

Among other things, this forces group leader Hasenclever to forego funds and privileges usually accorded to fraction chiefs. Having been tricked into signing, he barely managed to incorporate in the joint statement a notation to the effect that "the Green Group reserves the right to demand an inquiry into the legal aspect of the status situation."

He is not likely to garner much applause for this during the first group session of the six Greens, scheduled later this week. Says Hasenclever's deputy, Winfried Kretschmann: "We will have to discuss the results of the negotiations. This has not been done to date." He complained that contrary to the Greens' "basic democratic procedures, our group has not yet been acquainted with this matter."

Chairman Hasenclever will in addition have to justify having made a particularly foolish concession. While per their request the six Greens will be seated between SPD and FDP in the general assembly chamber and neither on the outside nor to their rear, none of them, not even Hasenclever, will be permitted to sit in the front row.

9273

CSO: 3103

## FDP TO APPEAL TO YOUNG VOTERS IN FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 10 Apr 80 p 6

[Article by my: 'FDP Announces a 'Young Voters' Program' - Rock Music and Discussions-- New Party Efforts]

[Text] Bonn, 9 April--The FDP plans to devote special efforts during the forthcoming election campaign to address the so-called young and first-time voters. For one thing, the party regards them as an important source of votes; secondly, and more important, the Free Democrats as well as the other "established" parties are greatly worried by the young voters' reticence, recently demonstrated in the Baden-Wuerttemberg Landtag elections. Even in the Bundestag elections of 1976, the 18-24 year group of voters was the least represented age group among those who voted. During the last Landtag election in Baden-Wuerttemberg, more than 18 percent of the 18-25 year group and almost 10 percent of the 25-34 year group voted for the Greens. To reestablish its dialogue with the young people and to use it to its advantage, the FDP has formulated a "young Voters' Program" which was introduced by General Secretary Verheugen in Bonn last Wednesday.

The program will be initiated on Sunday in Hamburg with a "liberal youth forum," a potpourri of discussions, theater and rock music. For this "pilot program" the FDP chose "The Factory," a former manufacturing plant converted into a communications center. According to Verheugen's plans, this is to be followed by a "college tour" of well-known FDP politicians, during which Interior Minister Baum, Verheugen and even party chief Genscher are to conduct discussions with students at various universities.

Verheugen's announcement also calls for stimulating youth organizations to "offer" political themes during the pre-election period. In any case, he states, the FDP is prepared to participate in such events in youth centers or, upon invitation by student representatives, in schools. In addition, the discussions with young people are to form an important component of the "liberal action weeks" which are taking place in FDP district organizations. Also, the various radio stations are to be requested to include political discussions involving all parties in their youth-oriented broadcasts.

Verheugen, who is presently preoccupied with the problem of the youthful electorate, issued a warning against general acceptance of the statement that young people are "getting out," meaning that they are joining or voting for political groupings other than the parties represented in the Bundestag.

Verheugen does not regard the new FDP youth program as being in competition with the Young Democrats, whose strained relations with the "mother party" have recently given much food for discussion, especially as a result of Genscher's biting remarks. Verheugen stated that there are certain things which are beyond the capability of the Young Democrats to deal with. In addition, he called attention to the fact that irritation was confined to the top echelons, whereas the Young Democrats in their local and district organizations were engaged in "normal party activities." Political differences of opinion, he said, would have to be cleared up by way of discussion. Verheugen came out strongly against "disciplining" the Young Democrats on an administrative basis, which could entail a complete split or a loss of financial support, which is very moderate at best.

9273

CSO: 3103

## MILITARY RELATIONS WITH JAPAN, AUSTRALIA NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 7 Apr 80 p 23

[Text] Japan, Australia and New Zealand want closer ties with Europe--and they would like German Arms.

Hans Apel was reprimanded. Robert Muldoon, New Zealand's prime minister, admonished our man from Bonn: "You must pay more attention to this part of the world." This statement was strong enough to make the defense minister gasp: "Compared to this head of state, I am a kindly gentleman."

Muldoon expressed most clearly what the Japanese and Australians had also expected from the trip to the Far East at the end of March: The assurance that in the future Bonn will take a more active part in the Pacific arena--with its technical know-how, with financial aid and with arms supplies.

Japan's President Masayoshi Ohira had requested a deadline from the federal chancellor even before the world economic summit meeting in June, so that possibilities of closer German-Japanese consultations could be discussed in advance. The reason for this was given by Japan's foreign minister, Saburo Okita, to Bonn's ambassador, Guenter Diehl: "We feel deserted."

New Zealand hopes that the European community, at Bonn's request, will buy more butter and mutton in the future. Otherwise, according to Muldoon, New Zealand cannot fulfill its military obligation in the Pacific arena.

And Australia needs German capital in order to be able better to exploit its natural resources, especially uranium and coal, and to modernize its stagnating industry. Malcolm Fraser, the Australian head of state, complained to the German defense minister that the Europeans are forgetting their international responsibility. Apel: "At times I got scared, they simply expect too much from us."

Heads of state of the three countries emphasized that Japan, New Zealand and Australia have had strategic considerations similar to those of Europeans since the Afghanistan crisis: At American request, all three countries will step up armament within the next years. But they do not wish to be drawn into the confrontation policy of the superpowers. Apel heard in Tokyo, Wellington and Canberra that Washington and Moscow are at present difficult to appraise, and that the danger of a miscalculation and thus of war is especially great.

Even Fraser, Australia's head of state, one of the first supporters of Carter's Olympics boycott, did not wish to agree in front of Apel to the United States formula that detente is dead. His ministers also complained openly to Apel that Australia's experiences with Jimmy Carter's information policy had been as bad as those of the Europeans.

In violation of Australian-American treaties, the United States military had put its 650 soldiers, distributed on four airforce and navy strongpoints, on military alert after the attack on Kabul, without informing the allies in Canberra. After all, Australians had fought side by side with the Americans in the Korean and Vietnam wars.

Even before he began his trip, Apel had learned just how urgently the Pacific states wished for greater independence from the United States: In Bonn, the ambassadors from Japan, New Zealand and Australia requested explicitly that German strategic and arms experts accompany Apel on his trip. And although General Hans Peter Tandecki, in charge of military policy at headquarters, and Hans Eberhard, in charge of armament at the defense ministry, constantly assured that they had "simply" come along, they were highly sought after in discussions in all three capitals.

The New Zealanders are interested in the just completed German F 122 frigate (at DM 300 million each), in the Leopard-1 tank and the field howitzer 70, which is coproduced by the Germans, British and Italians.

Australia, which has already purchased 101 Leopard-1's at a cost of DM 220 million, desires in addition to the frigates and field howitzers the "Troika" mine sweeping system, preferably in exchange for industrial goods and raw materials. The German offers were chosen over the British, Dutch and Italian ones.

For the time being the Japanese were the most reserved. To be sure, they did inquire exactly how technical cooperation in the common arms manufacture in Europe functions. But they did not want to commit themselves.

Japan produces most of its own arms and has little interest in arms purchases, but a great deal of interest in technical know-how. License production and armament cooperation would be advantageous only if domestic production becomes more expensive than import. Diehl comforted the German dealers: "The Japanese are careful people and very much interested in autarchy."

Nevertheless, shortly before the departure of the air force's Boeing 1001 from Tokyo, the unexpected happened. The man in charge of armament in the Japanese Defense Ministry took his Bonn colleague Eberhard aside at the gangway. He said that the talks had been very informative. And that he hoped to be able to come to Bonn soon for further negotiations.

Hans Apel to curious Japanese journalists: "I am a politician, not an arms dealer, but if this should lead to commercial negotiations: why not?"

9328

CSO: 3103



## PROBLEMS OF MACHINERY EXPORTS TO EAST BLOC NOTED

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 28 Mar 80 pp 74-77

[Text] The machine building industry, with sales of DM 110 billion the largest German industry, is concerned about its export markets. Politics are forcing a risky course on businesses, especially with East bloc trade.

Executive committees and officials in the German machine building industry realize the primacy of politics over business interests, but Tyll Necker, the vice president of the Association of the German Machine Building Industry (VDMA), limits this by saying: "I do not deny that we are concerned about the effects of the cooling off of political relations on our traditional business relations with the Soviet Union."

Machinery exports to the East bloc started to slow down anyway in 1979: Exports fell by 20 percent to just DM 4.5 billion. Contract development of last year indicates further regression for 1980. The Afghanistan crisis of 1979 has not even played a role yet: Either the borrowing limit blocked further imports, like in Poland; or else the countries themselves took care of the balance of payments through self-imposed limitation of capital goods imports.

Neither holds true for the Soviet Union. The decrease in exports by 15 percent (to DM 2.165 billion) was based solely on planning (the end of the five-year plan). The Soviets have sufficient liquidity, thanks to their greatly improved balance of payments, to cover all needed imports with hard currency.

But this example from experience shows how difficult business with the Soviet Union has become: Linde AG of Wiesbaden delivered an ethyl plant to the Caucasus. The multimillion project met all the deadlines--as far as the work at the Wiesbaden end went.

The Soviet subcontractors got more and more behind. Thus the plant cannot start its test run in the spring of 1980. As long as the test phase is not promptly completed, the contractor has the right to hold back the balance

of the payment of about 10 percent. This would be clear if Linde had not included a security clause in the contract in this case: If the delay is on the part of the Soviet subcontractor the final payment has to take place when the Germans have done their part.

The Soviets would not balk at this if they did not fear that the Germans would never do the testing again if an Afghan induced embargo were to set the pace. And so the Linde engineers are waiting to go home, the Soviets are waiting for a test run, and the firm is waiting for its money.

Especially now a strong basis for a good business partnership would be useful to both sides. The Soviets are at the start of a five-year plan; the German machine building industry will reach the end of its prosperity in the foreseeable future. In view of the very low productivity of the Russian plants rationalization investments in particular are to be pushed in the coming years.

German machines could find an enormous market here. Until now the USSR has followed a policy of viewing the FRG as the primary Western partner in technology transfer, since the United States, for political reasons, is playing this role less and less.

The Soviets could stay with the German-oriented trend through the 1980's, if the sand of Afghanistan that got into the gears of the machinery business at the beginning of this year can be quickly cleaned out again.

The federal foreign minister had stipulated a veto for himself recently for business dealings with the Soviets in the interministerial committee of the Hermes Credit Insurance Company. Thus some export contracts moved very slowly. A German press exporter had to wait for weeks for permission to export; contracts for rolling mill equipment that were ready for signing gathered dust until Chancellor Schmidt gave the slogan "business as usual" after his trip to the United States.

The Germans should be able to do business with the Soviet Union as before if they do not fill the gaps of the American export boycotts.

Without additional machinery trade not only the German production balance but also the trade balance would be DM 15 billion in the red. Still the machine industry has an export quota of 56 percent, that is DM 56.3 billion.

Industry representatives are demanding that the government give up its antiquated noble attitude in development aid: Capital aid without restrictions is senseless. Often the Japanese were the ultimate beneficiaries of German capital aid, because the developing countries had made contracts with them. At the most recent China seminar of VDMA a speaker reminded of the possibility that embassies, like those of other nations, should act more strongly in the acquisition efforts of German exporters. This idea received derisive laughter.

But even without diplomatic help the Ifo-Institute for Economic Research in Munich foresees a good future for the German machine industry: "The machine industry has excellent chances in the 1980's, even better than in the second half of the 1970's," says Dr Karl Heinrich Oppenlaender, president of Ifo.

In real terms the machine building industry will grow about 3 percent this year. A rather large price increase is added, so that a 10-percent increase does not seem unthinkable for 1980. The amount of contracts is sufficient for an average capacity utilization of a high level (87 percent) for 6 months. Very little will change here even until the end of 1980. Exporting will develop in a rather restrained fashion. Only some OPEC countries, China, and some growing countries of Latin America and Asia will remain in the growth zone for exports in 1980.

Oppenlaender warns not to think only of sales. Increased efforts on domestic and foreign markets and new technologies demand far-reaching planning, also in the areas of innovations, investment, employees, and profits, that is, not only in sales. The machine industry wants to invest about DM 5 billion in 1980. A large part of that is to be ordered at the largest capital goods fair of the world in mid-April in Hannover. Things are looking good for Hannover, Hannover is under a good sign.

9232

CSO: 3103

ESSO CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON PRICE, SUPPLY TRENDS OF OIL PRODUCTS

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Apr 80 p 17

[Interview with Wolfgang Oehme, head of Esso, by SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG staff members Franz Thoma and Horst Uhlmann: "Prices for Light Heating Oil Are Being Squeezed"]

[Text] Munich, 31 March--The quantitative supply of crude oil to the FRG presents no problems for 1980 as long as there are no political disturbances. The country is well supplied--so well that prices for light heating oil could even drop somewhat temporarily, but not prices for gasoline, since demand for that product is constantly increasing. This picture emerged from a conversation held by SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG staff members Franz Thoma and Horst Uhlmann with the chairman of the board of Hamburg-based Esso Inc., Wolfgang Oehme, during his visit to the SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG editorial offices. The interview on the current supply situation went as follows:

SZ: The price is dropping on the spot markets, where the oil industry is making considerable additional purchases. Will that not sooner or later have to affect prices for gasoline and heating oil?

Oehme: Based on the trend that possibility cannot be discussed, but crude oil prices expressed in dollars are initially continuing to increase relentlessly, especially since the exchange rate of the dollar is constantly improving against the DM.

SZ: We are talking about the spot markets ...

Oehme: In meeting our demand finished products make up between 30 and 35 percent, and a much larger percentage for heating oil than for gasoline; for gasoline it is only 12 to 15 percent. The crude oil prices therefore have a greater effect than the prices of finished products. I admit that the mild winter has exercised pressure on prices, both in Rotterdam and

domestically. This is why I do not exclude a temporary price squeeze taking place for the intermediate distillates, for heating oil. This is not likely for gasoline, since we have an increase in demand for it in contrast to heating oil.

SZ: If the supply, including the companies' supply of crude oil, is very good and gasoline prices nevertheless have increased lately, where is the logic?

Oehme: I certainly believe that there is an explanation. The supply is a result of the increased uncertainty in the world -- the key word is the Near East. All companies and dealers are trying to maintain relatively large stocks. In our calculation the replacement price is decisive. In this respect we have had a further increase since January for crude oil to DM 423 per ton of crude oil in February. The cost in March is likely to be around DM 450. The price increases announced by Iran and Kuwait have not yet been included in that figure. This increase in the cost of crude oil, and for imported finished products as well, has led to the fact that some companies are again operating in the red. We are not.

SZ: But you purchase at very favorable prices ...

Oehme: On the one hand we have a relatively favorable supply base with a 23-percent share of Saudi Arabian oil and on the other hand a much improved refinery structure thanks to regular investments for conversion and energy saving. Nevertheless, the increased supply costs will cause a price increase, despite good supplies. It will depend on how this establishes itself on the market, whether for example, as you expect, prices for imported gasoline will drop significantly, which I don't believe.

Spot Prices Are Slackening, but ...

SZ: We have to go back to the spot markets once more. The price differential between contract and spot quantities has decreased sharply for crude oil, isn't that so?

Oehme: That is quite correct.

SZ: If previous price increases were explained by the fact that prices on the spot markets had risen exorbitantly, and if the differences between contract and spot prices are now narrowing significantly, that should certainly, according to Adam Riese, also have a positive effect on gasoline and heating oil prices.

Oehme: That would be the case if a serious structural change had not occurred for all international companies, and more specifically with regard to the quantitative share of the contract amount as compared to the additional crude oil purchases made on the world market, contract oil or spot market oil. Worldwide for Exxon, the share of spot volume, which



previously amounted to 20 to 25 percent, has finally risen to more than 50 percent. The difference compared with before is, therefore, that the proportion of oil which has to be purchased additionally has become increasingly greater in comparison with our own oil. Conversely, this means that even with a reduction in the price differential, due to the volume multiplier the additionally purchased amount has an increasingly greater impact. The spot price has dropped, that is true, from the extreme of \$42 per barrel at the turn of the year to about \$35 to \$36 at present. But the entire price level of contract oil has increased tremendously on the part of the OPEC nations and in the North Sea, which is tied in. The difference between list and spot prices is an average of \$4 to \$5 per barrel.

SZ: Is it possible to deduce from the good supply that we will also be able to get gasoline everywhere and be able to buy plenty of heating oil throughout the entire year?

Oehme: The 1980 supply can be judged positively. All over the world, and in the FRG as well, we have a clear drop in demand for oil. Should something happen for political reasons in the Near East we still have a supply for about 120 to 130 days, the emergency supply plus commercial stocks.

SZ: Under normal conditions, no more drastic price movements either?

Oehme: It is also not anticipated that such drastic price movements as in 1979 will occur. The OPEC nations will certainly try not only to stabilize the real value of oil but also to improve it somewhat. But such dramatic price increases for crude oil as in 1979 -- more than 100 percent in the space of 12 months -- cannot be absorbed by the economy.

SZ: Does the drop in demand depend on savings or on the increasing use of other energy sources?

Oehme: Both. The FRG's need for oil is likely to be about 3 percent lower in 1980 than in 1979. This will primarily affect heavy heating oil. For light heating oil we will also have a decrease of about 8 percent. About half can be attributed to the mild winter, the rest to savings. The high price provides an incentive to heat less. Some of the drop is also attributable to the conversion to natural gas. That will level off, because natural gas prices have also risen sharply. Gasoline is the only product where a significant increase of about 2 percent will occur. This is where the good automobile sales are reflected. But even here a saving is taking place. Automobile drivers are driving more moderately.

SZ: If the increase in the number of motor vehicles is taken into account, does gasoline consumption per car drop?

Oehme: Yes. In 1970 the gasoline consumption per passenger car was 10.3 liters per 100 kilometers, in 1978 it rose to 11.3 liters; in 1980 it will drop to 10.8 liters and in 1985 maybe even to 10.4 liters, perhaps to 10 liters.

## GENERALS BRANDT, TANDECKI, HOSER DISCUSS STAFF OPERATIONS

## Gen Juergen Brandt Interviewed

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Mar 80 pp 15-16

[Interview with Gen Juergen Brandt, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, by Wolfgang Flume, editor-in-chief of WEHRTECHNIK: "The Soldiers of the Bundeswehr Are Ready for Action"]

[Text] In a time when tensions have once more become evident, the armed forces automatically move back closer to the center of political considerations. As has been planned for some time but in the present situation has become very timely, WEHRTECHNIK presents—for the first time in such detailed form—the Joint Chiefs of Staff, FueS. How is this command agency of the Bundeswehr to be classified? Is it a sort of Supreme Command (like that of the Wehrmacht earlier? Is it comparable to the old Prussian General Staff? Position, classification, and missions show that neither is an apt characterization of the FueS; it is a military institution with no comparable predecessor in the history of German armed forces. To make the picture clear, WT [WEHRTECHNIK] has interviewed the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff of the Bundeswehr—its representative—and here offers an account of that officer and presents the divisions of the staff with their primary tasks.

Within the framework of presentation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces, Gen Juergen Brandt granted an interview—his second—with WT. In it Gen Brandt describes his position in the ministry and in the military hierarch, outlines his duties, some of which lie in the political field, and takes a position on a number of other problems, national and international.

WT: As chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, you are the first soldier of the Bundeswehr. I am sure that when you assumed this outstanding position you set yourself certain objectives and focal points. What focal points can you mention to us?

General Brandt: After I took office I could not help but see that seemingly simple questions are obviously the most important: How do our soldiers feel? What is the tone in the barracks? How motivated are the troops?

WT: What did that mean for your work?

General Brandt: It means first of all that I have made it clear to the political leadership of the house, to politicians of all factions, to the defense committee of the German Bundestag that pressing problems in personnel management must be overcome and that this will also cost money.

WT: You pointed out at the Commanding Officers' Conference of 1979 that after the past years, which were partially conditioned by the development and adoption of the second generation of weapons, man and consequently the individual personality is to be pushed back more into the center of considerations. How do you propose to do this in such a big institution as the Bundeswehr?

General Brandt: That is another point. I am convinced that every unit leader tries to act, to the best of his ability, along my line; i.e., along the line of leadership, and certainly not just since I have been chairman of the joint chiefs of staff. After all, we in the Bundeswehr can look back on 25 years of successful human leadership. But it is part of my duty to support commanding officers and unit leaders in their efforts at up-to-date leadership and to strengthen them along their way.

WT: Up-to-date leadership: by what basic principles, in your opinion, should unit commanders be guided?

General Brandt: For many young soldiers, service in the Bundeswehr, with its new demands, for example the demand for obedience, means their first contact and first dealings with the state. The state, which he is to serve loyally and whose people he is to defend bravely. Inner commitment to these tasks must be achieved.

WT: More political education, in other words?

General Brandt: Information--not only in the political field--is one road toward insight, but not the only one! Daily contact with ones superior, his credibility, the appeal to coresponsibility as a citizen, the feeling of being respected as a personality, of being of value to the unit, shared experiences--all of that together creates ties and precipitates in readiness to serve.

WT: The position, functions, and powers of the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff are described in what is called the Blankenese Decree. What are your functions? Do you see a priority order, or can discharge them all equally?

General Brandt: The "Blankenese Decree" says, "The chairman of the joint chiefs of staff is the ministerial authority, immediately below the minister, for development and implementation of the overall concept of military defense." This central task is supplemented by the the full responsibility for defense planning, which is not to be confused with the direct responsibility of the chiefs of staff to the minister for the combat readiness of their branches of the armed forces. I am chairman of the Military Command Council; i.e., the group that advises me, in which the chiefs of staff of the various branches of the armed forces participate in the development of the overall concept and work with me on the creation of a common military intent. I am the military representative of the Bundeswehr in international military organizations and before the public. Lastly, I am military adviser to the minister and the federal [German] government; I repeat, the federal government. You will understand that in this catalog of tasks I do not mean to place one task in competition with the rest, nor do I wish to set priorities by either urgency or inclination.

WT: Hasn't each branch of the armed forces got its own plans and objectives? What possibilities are afforded you for setting priorities and weights there?

General Brandt: It is not quite that way. The objectives and plans of the various branches are oriented toward the overall concept of military defense, which is derived from the defense policy goals and our alliance obligations. Here priorities and weights are set with the participation of the chiefs of staff, but the responsibility rests on the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff.

WT: In your eyes, then, the Blankenese Decree has proved itself?

General Brandt: Yes, the powers that I have: right of inspection on behalf of the minister, right to give instructions to the chiefs of staff of the branches of the armed services for the purpose of development and realization of an overall concept, competence to issue guidelines and orders in basic matters to the armed forces, completely suffice for the accomplishment of my tasks.

WT: Then you are the highest military and military-policy adviser not only to the minister, but also to the federal government. How, where, and when do you act in your advisory capacity?

General Brandt: I often talk with the minister of defense without there always being a formal occasion for doing so. In the Collegium, the advisory group to the minister, to which three secretaries of state belong, I have a seat and a vote as the only soldier, and I also have a seat and



a vote, together with the chiefs of staff, in the Department Directors' Conference. The chairman of the joint chiefs of staff is a member of the Federal Security Council, which meets under the chairmanship of the chancellor, and reports directly to the Defense Committee of the German Bundestag [parliament] and to the cabinet when called upon to do so.

WT: But as highest military officer, don't you often have to go to the political leadership asking for things? Are the two functions compatible?

General Brandt: There are occasions every now and then when what is militarily desirable is in conflict with what is politically feasible. In those very situations it is compatible with the rôle of adviser to make requests and explain them, if necessary to argue for them controversially; it is also an expression of obedience based on shared responsibility. To me it goes without saying that this should be done behind closed doors. But to be able to make requests and get them through, the highest soldier must seek to be close to the politician. Shouting requests across a trench means dispensing with collaboration.

WT: May I take up a current topic here? What is your attitude as chairman of the joint chiefs of staff toward the personnel pool, or, to use a better word, the employment pool?

General Brandt: From the military point of view there are several proposed solutions; all of them cost money, all of them are more or less hard to put through. Thus, for example, in a time when job security is regarded as a thing of great value, a demand for "early pensioning" is bound to have an inflammatory effect. I have spoken out in favor of a solution which--limited to and distributed over a certain period of time--creates additional service positions. These positions would be established in areas where new short-term tasks are to be accomplished, where existing tasks are not being carried out, or where past shortcomings are to be made up. It seems to me that this possible solution to the employment pool problem would be the most practicable.

WT: Another current topic is the de Maizière Commission's criticism of too intensive regimentation and centralization in the Bundeswehr. What can you as chairman of the joint chiefs of staff do to bring about an improvement of conditions?

General Brandt: Particular efforts must be made in those areas where this condition has psychological causes--I see this as a focal point. It will all depend on bringing the general regard for the tactics of the mission back into consciousness, but that can only be carried out gradually. I called attention to the questions involved at the commanders' meeting of 1979 and in my 1980 Directive on Training, Instruction, and Education I ordered that it be made a general leadership principle to make application of the tactics of the mission the focal point of training.



I have directed that in the course of evaluation of the commission's recommendations the leadership principles and leadership procedures of all leadership areas be studied from the point of view of the tactics of the mission. A similar study has already begun to check all existing central regulations to see whether they are necessary. We shall take the indicated measures when the results of these studies are available. We shall have to proceed with caution so as not to put ourselves in danger of cutting the tree down instead of pruning it. I do not want to see anything worthwhile changed just because something has to be changed!

WT: On several occasions you have said that despite all the problems, the operational readiness of the troops is very good. Lately this has been shown in maneuvers and also in natural catastrophes. Can any conclusions be drawn from the motivation shown by the soldiers that would apply in the event of attack by a foreign power?

General Brandt: I am glad to repeat that it is my conviction that in all discussions of what there is in the Bundeswehr that should be changed it must be remembered that we are talking about an intact and powerful army. Maneuvers only allow limited conclusions about what would happen in the event of attack by a foreign power. In that event greater emotional demands are made, but also--we older ones have experienced it--different sources of inner motivation are also opened up. One thing, however, is shown by deployment in connection with natural catastrophes and in maneuvers: the soldiers of the Bundeswehr are ready to exert themselves. Running away or just going along half-heartedly when they are needed are rare exceptions to the rule.

WT: Earlier you were the German military representative on the NATO military committee, and therefore you know NATO quite well. What influence do we, that is the federal government and also our military missions, have on NATO decisions? How is our influence brought to bear in front-line discussions?

General Brandt: Decisions in NATO are made according to democratic rules of the game. Every member of the alliance has the same voting right, for we are an alliance of sovereign states. Before each decision there is an intensive process of consultation in the appropriate NATO councils, but also between governments. That is a process in which we are intensively involved, as is every other country. The goal is to bring the differing interests of the alliance partners, which are quite natural, into accord; i.e., to bring about either unanimity or an acceptable compromise. The reason this is so important is that it is an expression of the cohesion and solidarity of the alliance.

WT: Are we adequately represented in the integrated staffs of NATO?

General Brandt: Of the European partners, the federal republic makes the greatest military contribution, and naturally our expectations with regard to adequate German representation in the NATO organization have

risen. Expectations, however, which have largely been satisfied. In the end it comes down to the efficiency of the collaboration, and we are very careful to see to it that qualified soldiers are posted to the integrated staffs.

WT: You take trips abroad, as for example not too long ago to Yugoslavia, and you are also often visited here. What significance do you assign to that kind of exchange of ideas?

General Brandt: I am following an international custom, and I do it with a passion, because I am convinced that it is important to get to know one another personally. Within NATO it is indispensable. The personal exchange of ideas of the "Chiefs of General Staff" guides and inspires the work at all levels of the military institutions of the alliance. The military policy relations between the countries are part of the political relations. My visit to Yugoslavia was in this sense an expression of the on-going normalization [of relations] between the FRG and Yugoslavia. I cultivate personal contact with my French colleague General Méry especially intensively.

WT: The Bundeswehr has just turned 25 years old; this means that it now has only a few officers and non-commissioned officers with wartime service.

In general, what effect does that have on the Bundeswehr? Are we not losing a lot of leadership and operational experience that way?

General Brandt: It is certain that experience of what it means to act responsibly "in the face of the enemy" is getting rarer and rarer, and thus one valuable measure of leadership behavior is being lost. The danger that perfectionism, bureaucratic routine, and uninspired technocracy may set the tone for the Bundeswehr is great, but it is also recognized. The Bundeswehr's 25 years also mean, however, that it is the oldest German army in this century, and also that it is an army that has proven itself in a democracy.

#### Tandecki on Military Policy

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Mar 80 pp 30-32

[Article by Maj Gen Peter Tandecki, staff division chief, FuS III: "Military Policy, Leadership"]

[Text] Concealed under the title of Staff Division III, "Military Policy and Leadership," is a multiplicity of tasks of widely varying nature. The job spectrum of the 10 branches ranges, as Maj Gen Peter Tandecki, Staff Division Chief, explains, from analysis and evaluation of current political phenomena to the working out of long-term military-strategic goals, from collaboration on the foundations of national positions on arms limitations to evaluation of arms supplies from the viewpoint of the overall plan. In addition to national missions such as defense of the country, military relations with NATO and with

the West European Union are also dealt with; both the operational plans of the armed forces and the mobilization and alert system are based here; theoretical considerations on data processing are part of the complex, as is psychological warfare. At regular intervals general staff meetings are held at which questions and problems of mutual defense are discussed with NATO partners on a bilateral basis. Multilateral conferences, often called ad hoc, are also a part of the normal work load.

This profusion of tasks is handled by 74 officers and 3 officials. They are assisted in doing so by 25 noncommissioned officers and men and by 35 civilian employees. Of the advisers and assistant advisers, 85 percent have been through either general staff training or admiralty staff training.

### Military Policy

Defense policy and détente policy are the decisive instruments of German security policy. Both of these components are reflected in NATO's double resolution of December 1979 to modernize the intermediate range missiles and to make an arms control offer to the Warsaw Pact.

Staff Division III makes contributions to both areas:

In Branch III 1, "Fundamentals of Military Policy," analyzes and evaluates defense policy needs, including the field of nuclear policy. In addition to basic studies which provide guidelines, the branch sketches current positions and recommended decisions on military policy collaboration with other countries and on assistance in defense, arms, and training as well as arms exports.

Branch III 5, "Arms Control," deals with the following complex of subjects:

- Nuclear arms limitation (SALT/"gray area"),
- Reduction of forces in Central Europe (MBRF [mutual and balanced reduction of forces]),
- Confidence-building measures,
- Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

In addition, a glance at other study areas such as the further development of humanitarian international law on warfare, bans and restrictions on the use of conventional weapons, and disarmament initiatives and negotiations within the framework of the United Nations indicates what a broad, complex, problematical field is represented by the concept of "arms control."

The above two branches cooperate closely with the Foreign Ministry. Ministerial responsibility for defense policy measures lies with the BMVg

[Federal Ministry of Defense], while that for arms control lies with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The contributions of the two branches is also oriented in part toward NATO's strategic concept, on the formulation of which Branch III 2, "Military Strategy," also collaborates. This branch is also responsible for reporting on the working out of long-term goal proposals which are summed up in the Bundeswehr's "military strategic concept."

Branch III 3, "Military Relations With NATO and the WEU [West European Union]," is responsible for coordination of military policy matters, military, organizational, and personnel policy matters between the BMVg and the political and military summit of the alliance. It also deals with the following areas:

- Preparation for NATO conferences,
- NATO armed forces planning,
- Matters concerning the filling of military positions in the integrated area, with respect to both quality and numbers, and
- Military relations with WEU organs.

#### Operational Principles of the Armed Forces

The task area of Branch III 6, "Operational Principles," can be divided into the following fields: operational planning, maneuvers, and military geography. Operational planning consists of both the development of over-all concepts that extend beyond the individual branches of the armed forces and collaboration on all the plans and documents of the higher NATO organs and NATO commands. This includes both approval of operational plans which affect more than one major unit of one branch of the armed forces and collaboration on the resolutions of NATO's Defense Planning Committee and Military Committee. Typical assignments from these areas include, for example, development of an air defense concept within a multinational framework and working out a national position on deployment plans for reinforcements from the United States.

In a crisis or invasion situation this branch assumes direction of the operational situation in the Advisory Group of the federal [German] government.

The branch bears the responsibility for the federal [German] government's participation in NATO staff-level exercises, the best known of which is the WINTEX series of exercises, and accordingly is the party to be addressed by other members of the alliance and cooperates closely with other agencies.

Branch III 7, "National Military Defense," is concerned with conceptual matters and basic questions of national military defense; i.e., those tasks which in a crisis or in the event of attack by a foreign power



remain in the national area of responsibility and which serve to support our own armed forces and those of the allies, Bundeswehr administration, and civil defense. This also includes the possibilities defined in the constitution for deployment of the armed forces outside of their defense function; i.e., rendering assistance in the event of natural catastrophes and support of civilian police forces in the event of internal emergency.

Branch III 8, "Alert Planning and Mobilization," has the following major tasks:

- Further development of NATO and Bundeswehr alert planning,
- Coordination of Bundeswehr alert planning with NATO alert planning and NATO alert planning,
- Control of the Bundeswehr Alert Center (AZBw),
- Further development of the Bundeswehr mobilization system, and
- In exercises and crises, preparing contingency plans for mobilization and evaluation of the state of mobilization.

### Technology

The two branches that are involved in technology will certainly also be of particular interest to the reader.

At first glance it might seem that Branch III 4, "Armaments Planning," was a foreign body within the staff department "Military Policy and Leadership." However, if one studies its tasks the picture changes. The branch deals with the separate arms supply of the various branches of the armed forces from the point of view of overall planning throughout the entire process of development and use; i.e., from the military conception in the early phase through tactical deployment and up to withdrawal from service.

This involves creating an overall evaluation out of a number of design objectives, peripheral considerations, and evaluation criteria. The defense policy guidelines, the military strategic concept and the concepts of the branches of the armed forces, the armed forces plan, the five-year program, the maintenance plan, and the NATO conceptual and armaments planning documents are also to be evaluated, as well as long-term military technological development trends and questions of future personnel structure. In their combined effects these areas are acquiring increasing importance in military policy. Military policy is no longer conceivable or possible without arms planning, and vice versa. The AWACS [Airborne Warning and Control System] project, the NATO identification system, the Precision Location Strike System (PLSS), and the integrated NATO air defense system are examples of this.

Branch III 9, "Bundeswehr Command System," studies questions related to the improvement of the Bundeswehr's responsiveness, with particular attention to the employment of automatic data processing systems.



Because of the necessity of using the possibilities of data processing for cost-effective provision of information for the Bundeswehr, it is necessary to pursue the application and further development of existing computer-assisted information systems as well as the planning and development of new ones. Electronic data processing, however, cannot and will not replace the creative decisions of those responsible for leadership.

### Psychological Defense

Branch III 10, "Psychological Defense," is responsible for the planning and technical direction of the psychological defense of the Bundeswehr. Psychological defense is one of the command missions required by security policy. The task of this branch includes studying basic conditions and determining the situation, and also directing research, instruction, training, and measures for psychological defense as well as checking up on them.

The wide-ranging tasks of Staff Division III are performed in cooperation with many international and national services, other agencies of the federal [German] government, all civilian departments of the house, and innumerable branches of the staffs of the branches of the armed forces. The results of the work are always only recommendations and reports to aid the military and political leadership in reaching decisions.

### Hoster on Planning

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Mar 80 pp 38-40

[Article by Brig Gen Hans Hoster, staff division chief, FueS VI: "Planning"]

[Text] The activities of Staff Division VI, Planning, with its five branches, are determined essentially by the function of the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff of the Bundeswehr as the individual responsible for Bundeswehr planning.<sup>1</sup> The Planning Decree states that the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff assumes this mission as a pilot mission. A considerable part of the planning activities resulting from this are grouped in Staff Division FueS VI, which thus primarily serves the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff in accomplishing his mission within the framework of Bundeswehr Planning. In addition, however, the guiding, coordinating, and supporting work of this staff division is also important to other areas

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<sup>1</sup>Bundeswehr planning is the forward-looking command and administrative activity for systematic further development of the Bundeswehr with the goal of attaining an optimum capability for accomplishing the mission under given limitations and at an acceptable risk. (Definition according to the decree "Bundeswehrplanung im BMVg" [Federal Defense Planning in the Federal Ministry of Defense], the so-called "Planning Decree" of 19 September 1968.)

in the BMVg [Federal Ministry of Defense] not directly included in planning, as well as in subordinate areas such as the Armed Forces Office and the Bundeswehr Office of Studies and Exercises, Brigadier General Hans Hoster, the staff division chief, says in the article below.

The following task areas are handled in Staff Division VI:

- Formulation of planning principles and procedures, particularly for Bundeswehr Planning and in accordance with NATO planning procedures, such as planning, realization, and operation of corresponding support through electronic data processing;
- Preparing planning data and normative values in the field of Bundeswehr cost analysis;
- Providing the Armed Forces Plan and the Five-Year Program as an integration task within the framework of long-term and intermediate-term Bundeswehr planning; and
- Planning, guiding, and coordinating the study activities of the BMVg, with the exception of technical arms studies.

#### Fundamental Considerations; Management Information System

The planning system of the Bundeswehr is modified in accordance with experience and practice. To this end, the Planning Decree, too, is now being reworked and partially revised and/or expanded.

Developments in the field of NATO planning procedures are being taken into account here.

A technical information system now being introduced, the "Management Information System for Bundeswehr Planning" (MISPI), serves to support the planning work. This system makes it possible for data relevant to planning to be constantly kept in current status and to keep this information at the disposal of all working in the planning division. The system makes possible rapid exchange and evaluation of current information essential to planning.

This considerably facilitates the preparation and compilation of plans and programs. The tasks of those assigned to this system are being completely performed within Staff Division FÜS VI.

#### Bundeswehr Cost Analysis

Besides the strictly financial calculations which direct the flow of money within the department from income to expenditure, it is the mission of Bundeswehr cost analysis to deal with the movements and consumption of commodities in the course of the Bundeswehr's activity. Bundeswehr cost analysis is an accounting system analogous to industrial cost analysis but developed for the specific needs of the Bundeswehr, with the subdivisions

actual cost analysis, planned cost analysis, and cost statistics. Normative values are produced from representative use values and published twice a year in a cost guideline. The cost guideline is the basis for calculating operating costs to be reflected in plans and programs.

In this guideline the average annual personnel cost by service grade is just as definitely stated as the materiel operating costs for field materiel, vehicles, and weapons systems. Within the framework of cost-utility studies as provided for in the Federal [German] Economic Regulation for actions of considerable financial significance, Bundeswehr Cost Analysis provides reports on cost-effectiveness studies, which are especially important in evaluation of alternatives in planning the structure of the armed forces and in planning weapons systems.

The information and data provided by Bundeswehr Cost Analysis are available not only to those concerned with planning but also to all ministerial and subordinate agencies of the Bundeswehr. The cost analysis system of the Bundeswehr also provides the prerequisites for rationalization measures in the operational areas of the Bundeswehr. In addition, concrete compensation and/or deduction cases are worked out by means of it, particularly in the integrated area, where services and personnel assignments by the Bundeswehr to NATO installations must be justified to NATO upon request.

#### Long-Term and Intermediate-Term Bundeswehr Planning

One of the most essential planning tasks of the Ministry of Defense is Bundeswehr planning. It is a continuing and dynamic process, in which plans for up to 15 years into the future for the systematic development of the Bundeswehr are directed on the basis of defense policy guidelines and military goals in such a way that in view of current conditions and at an acceptable risk the best possible accomplishment of the mission of the Bundeswehr is attained at all times. These plans deal with the number personnel and the personal structure, the materiel, equipment, and infrastructure, as well as the organizational form of the Bundeswehr. Responsibility for the content of the plans rests with the technical departments dealing with the operational areas of the Bundeswehr and the appropriate staffs of the ministry.<sup>2</sup> It is the mission of Staff Division

<sup>2</sup>Ministerial departments, staffs, and corresponding organizational areas: **RueS** [Joint Chiefs of Staff]--the central military office of the Bundeswehr; **FueH**, **FueL**, **FueM**--Chiefs of Staff of the Army, Air Force, and Navy; **InSan** [Surgeon General]--central medical service of the Bundeswehr; **Abtlg. Rue** [Materiel Division]--Bundeswehr supply service; **Abtlg. VR** [Administration and Justice Division]--Bundeswehr administration, including military justice and the military chaplain service; **Org. Stab** [the Organizational Staff]--the Federal Ministry of Defense.

FueS VI to coordinate, approve, and assemble the decentralized long-term and intermediate-term individual plans into an overall planning for the Bundeswehr in plans and programs

#### Long-Term Planning in the Armed Forces Plan

Staff Division FueS VI presents and evaluates long-term planning in the Armed Forces Plan with extent and cost data in five planning categories: organization, personnel, materiel, infrastructure, and operating costs. This is in accordance with the provisions of the Planning Decree, which calls for a presentation of the development of the Bundeswehr "in broad outline." In each case the SKPl [Armed Forces Plan] covers a period of time of up to 15 years.

The foundations of the SKPl are the planning recommendations worked out for the organizational areas. In them the divisions and staffs, whose needs must be met, set down the requirements for materiel and procedures by which the tasks in each of the operational areas are to be accomplished.

The requirements are directed to the divisions within the Federal Ministry of Defense that are responsible for meeting these needs.<sup>3</sup> With respect to feasibility, these divisions work more efficiently in the planning stage with the organizations whose needs are being presented.

The chairman of the joint chiefs of staff directs the work on the planning recommendations through his planning guidelines, which precede each Armed Forces Plan. The planning guideline contains the current directives and limiting conditions, of which the limitation on planned costs, the so-called planned costs limit, is the most decisive. In spite of these specifications, the requirements deriving from the individual plans often exceed the planned cost limit. Therefore, before incorporation in the Armed Forces Plan comprehensive agreements must be brought about by Staff Division VI between the fiscal division, the supplying division, and the organization putting in the requisition in the particular case in order to harmonize the individual request with an acceptable and financeable overall plan.

#### Intermediate-Term Planning in the Five-Year Program

Intermediate-term planning transforms the goals of the Armed Forces Plan into a Five-Year Program which is feasible with respect to personnel, finances, and materiel.

The chairman of the joint chiefs of staff sets forth the focal points, priorities, and limitations--particularly the financial limitations--in a program guideline for the term of the program and thereby provides the requisitioning organizations with the planning framework for working out

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<sup>3</sup>Abtlg. Ruestung [Materiel Division], Abtlg. Quartier und Militaerische Reservierungen [Quarters and Military Reservations], Abtlg. Personal [Personnel Division], and Abtlg. Verwaltung und Recht [Administration and Military Justice].



their program recommendations or program contributions to the Bundeswehr's Five-Year Program. The program guideline is developed in Staff Division VI with the collaboration of the requisitioning organization and also with the agreement of the supplying divisions.

On the basis of the program recommendations and program contributions in the planning categories (see above), the planned undertakings and total expenditures of the Bundeswehr are listed in the Five-Year Program, produced annually, by type, amount and costs in yearly stages.

The Five-Year Program of the Bundeswehr, too, is compiled by Staff Division VI in constant consultation with the requesting and supplying divisions. The primary mission is coordination and adjustment to the pre-determined limits.

The program agreed upon within the Federal Ministry of Defense and approved by the minister is the Finance Division's basis for producing the report of the ministry for the next fiscal year and for the ministry's contribution to NATO's multi-year finance plan.

#### Planning Aids and OR Management

In advance of decisions it is necessary to make the question to be decided crystal clear to the decision-making authority. Because of the growing complexity of the missions of the armed forces, the scope of the decisions, and the personnel, materiel, and financial risks associated with the broad planning horizon, this is often no longer possible by the means employed in past staff work. For that reason, for over 18 years the Bundeswehr has been contracting out study projects to both domestic and foreign research institutions.

The tasks for these study activities of the Ministry of Defense are derived from the fundamental documents of Bundeswehr Planning, such for example as the military strategic concept or the concepts of the branches of the armed forces, from the development and procurement planning for defense materiel, from the questions of leadership, and from the complex cooperation in NATO. The goal of the studies is an appropriate qualitative and quantitative analysis of problems, which will make it possible for the chiefs of staff to reach decisions from the points of view of most rational deployment of materiel and of the effectiveness of the armed forces. The research tasks are allocated on the basis of the Study Plan Decree and after coordination of the research requirements of the divisions and staffs, with particular attention to the focal points of the planning and missions of the armed forces as a whole by the Bundeswehr study committee. With the exception of research on weapons technology, the research activity of the Ministry of Defense is published annually in annually updated "Bundeswehr Research Plan."

At present about 100 studies are being done all told. The existing procedures for research planning and direction permit sufficient flexibility



for high-priority research projects to be squeezed in and carried out quickly.

#### Summary and Forecast

Staff Division VI performs an important integrative function in the transformation from conception of a goal to its realization. Through compilation of information and making it available and by processing inquiries from the area of Bundeswehr cost analysis, through activities within the framework of research and OR [operations research] management and by accomplishing the mission as the party responsible for the Management Information System for Bundeswehr Planning, the division is effective in the overall, ministerial area, and to some extent in subordinate areas.

Planning work in the Federal Ministry of Defense in general, and particularly the work within the scope of Bundeswehr planning, is characterized by the principle of dialog; i.e., the planning result is brought about by continuous approval of all the parties involved throughout the planning process and is not the result of an arbitrary decision. This principle is expressed in the work of Staff Division VI.

The results of this work also constitute the basis for the future form of the Bundeswehr. Since the ever more complex surrounding conditions are making the position of the party responsible for making the decisions increasingly difficult, one of the focal points of the future work of our staff division will be to develop better criteria for evaluating the planning results and thereby to contribute to improving the decision-making situation.

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CSO: 3103

## BRIEFS

CHANGES AT CDF--As expected, Jacques Petitmengin, 52, has stepped in to strengthen the management staff of the Charbonnages de France [National Coal Company of France], of which he has become the deputy general manager while waiting to succeed Paul Gardent, the current manager, in a few months. The CdF is changing managers and over the past years has had to resign itself to the recession in the French coal-mining region. Now it is beginning an active strategy to acquire foreign markets and will push the use of coal in France. [Text] [Paris LE NOUVEL ECONOMISTE in French 28 Apr 80 p 64]

CSO: 3100

## CHURCH ESTATE, STATISTICS PUBLISHED

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 13 Apr 80 pp 2, 3, 4

[Article by Giannis Fatsis]

[Text] At last the Church [of Greece] (whether it likes it or not) will perform its "miracle": it will cede a large part of its property to the state. It is subjected (especially now) to such heavy pressure that the margins for maneuvers aimed at other possibilities are nonexistent.

Of course, an event that took place the last few days has cancelled the "summit meeting" (between church and state) for discussing the issue. It appears, however, that the church is not responsible for the cancellation. The cause lies with the other party--the state. Nonetheless, there are indications that the meeting will take place (perhaps during this month) and that the agreement will be concluded. What will be discussed at the meeting between Karamanlis and [Metropolitan (Archbishop) of Athens and all Greece] Serafeim and other officials is the signing of a preliminary agreement ceding part of the church's property to the state. The final agreement will be drafted following negotiations between representatives of the two sides.

What will the preliminary agreement provide? According to data the TO VIMA has, the text to be signed will include the following conditions:

1. The church lands having an area of more than 20 stremmas will be partitioned between the state (which will receive four fifths) and the church (which will maintain ownership of one fifth). The apportionment will be permanent and will concern each property separately.
2. Church lands of more than 20 stremmas in area will either remain (as they are now) as property of the church or will be transferred in their entirety to the state. In such a case one of the two parties will give to the other land of equal value and in the same name.
3. The conditions for erecting buildings on the properties which will remain under church ownership will be similar to those in force for private citizens.

4. The forests of Iykavittos (1,000 stremmas), Pangrati (30 stremmas) and Syngrou (300 stremmas) will be transferred in their entirety to state ownership.

5. No expropriation of church properties will be made in the future for distribution to landless farmers.

#### What Was Asked, What Was Rejected

During the negotiations for the signing of the preliminary agreement it will be determined who will be the assessor of the church properties of less than 20 stremmas in area and who will be the selector of the land (of equal value) which will be transferred (in exchange) to church ownership. However, it has been decided in advance that the assessor or selector (the state or the church) will be the same for the entire country (and it would not be different for each case of church property).

During the negotiations which took place, the church submitted the demand that it select the exchangeable lands. The church had asked also that privileged conditions for the construction of buildings be defined (in exception to the conditions in force) as concerns properties which would remain under its ownership or properties the state would give it (in the form of exchange). The church also asked that it keep its ownership of properties in Attiki [none] whose total area is 12,000 stremmas. The state refused to accept these church demands.

The church made another request during the negotiations--it asked that the places of worship be tax exempt. This would mean an annual loss of 220 million drachmas to the state. This request too was rejected for the following reasons:

1. Because it would be privileged treatment of the church compared to other (taxed) legal entities.
2. Because the state has already assumed (burdened with) the obligation to pay the salaries of the clergy.
3. Because the state subsidizes the churches from the proceeds of the state lottery.

#### City Real Estate Exempted

The negotiations do not concern the whole church estate, but only the farmlands, forestlands, pasturelands, one mine, five quarries and two fish hatcheries, all of which cover an area of 1,283,947 stremmas.

All urban real estate is tax exempt and remains completely under the sole jurisdiction (ownership) of the church. Most of these properties are in Athens and Salonica, some are in Kavala, Volos and Patrai, and they do not

concern only places of worship. They include hotels, buildings, where ministries are housed, apartment houses, cinemas, theaters, mansions and small houses, lots. The church never betrayed its secret: it never divulged the size of its urban real estate. It keeps this secret well in order to avoid adverse comments as well as claims on the part of the state and the people.

#### The "Filet" of the Estate

The church's real estate in the city is (basically) the result of the exchange (between church and state) on the basis of the 1952 agreement (whereby the church gave to the state monastery lands and received in return public real estate in cities).

But (the urban real estate) is also the result of purchases, gifts and usurpations. The church is holding on to this real estate determinedly in order to be able, as it claims, "to fulfill its spiritual and social task."

Naturally, the hotels, cinemas, theaters, apartment houses and other buildings do not directly serve this "task." But the church will claim that it can (more easily) carry out its mission through the income it derives from the exploitation of these buildings. This real estate is the "filet" of the church property. This characterization ("filet") was given by a leader of the church. At the same time, the church is trying to establish profit-making enterprises and to develop the ones now under its management. Typical is the case of certain metropolitans /hierarchs/ who are establishing "grass-roots companies" for the purpose of acquiring and scheduling ships on coastal lines. The same can be said about the effort being made these days to schedule a ship on the Volos-Syria line.

Tourism is an enterprising sector which attracts the church because it provides large profits. Already the church had expressed interest (during the dictatorship) in developing a forestland near the Strofilia of Ileia seashore. However, the efforts (for cooperation with a group of foreign capitalists) had failed. But the church's target remains.

#### Marathon Talks

The state-church negotiations do not involve these enterprises. They are limited to the 1,283,947 stremmas which are the "corpus" of the property under negotiation. It took marathon talks to persuade the church to negotiate these 1,283,947 stremmas. The state exerted pressure (through Education Minister Varvitsiotis) and the church (with some "hard" metropolitans) counteracted. Now, however, with the signing of the draft agreement a new marathon will begin concerning the church's real ownership of the real estate under negotiation.

It is reported already that the church (simply) "possesses" 500 stremmas of this property. This means that the church has no title to this land



which in the past belonged to the state and either was ceded to the church or was usurped by it.

At the negotiations the state will be represented by Ministers of Education Varvitsiotis, Finance Kanellopoulos and Agriculture Boutos. The church will be represented by a 9-member committee of metropolitans (Damaskinos of Fthiotis, Khristodoulos of Dimitrias, Polykarpos of Kerkyra, Varnavas of Kitrou, Dionysios of Kosani, Anthimos of Alexandroupolis, Theoklitos of Ioannina and Vartholomaios of Megaris).

As things have now developed, the church cannot do anything else but agree to cede (at least) this part of its property. The margins for reneging or creating unsurmountable obstacles are nil.

The total area of the church property under negotiation is 1,283,947 stremmas and includes farm, forest and pasture lands. The city real estate (lots and buildings) is excluded.

The area of the church farm and forest property in Attiki is 95,532 stremmas. In the provinces the corresponding areas total 1,184,116 stremmas. This figure does not include 4,297 stremmas (in Attiki and the provinces) which are in a state of "litigation." This property belongs to 9,000 "owners" (that is, to metropolises /archdioceses/, monasteries, churches, etc.) and are divided into "liquidable" and "maintainable."

In the Attiki region the (farm and forest) church property belongs to four monasteries: (80,026 stremmas) to the Pendeli Holy Monastery, (23,749 stremmas) to the Asomaton Petraki Holy Monastery, (3,153 stremmas) to the Holy Monastery of Faneromeni and (6,722 stremmas) to the Osios Meletios Holy Monastery.

#### Pendeli Monastery Property

The lands belonging to this monastery are as follows (location and area):

At Skaramangas, 5,400 stremmas, at Katoussa of Keratea, 697 stremmas, at Vrana of Marathon, 100 stremmas, at Agios Andreas of Nea Makri, 200 stremmas, at Kharaka of Legrainai, 5,068 stremmas, at Aspro Lithari in Legrainai, 4,858 stremmas, at Sounion, 7,500 stremmas, at Fyli Forest, 1,900 stremmas, at Molens of Skourta, 3,385 stremmas, at Marousi, 66 stremmas, at Agia Marina of Loutsa, 600 stremmas, and at Gerakas of Khalandri, 3.5 stremmas.

This monastery owns also the Gerotsakouli forestland which has an area of 31,000 stremmas and is defined by the boundaries Rafina-Kallithea, Bourmbakhti-Palaia Pendeli-Agios Syllas-Latomeia-Parisa.

Finally, the Pendeli Monastery owns forest "isles" which are located within lands which have already been sold (by the same monastery, naturally) and whose (total) area is 1,000 stremmas.

### The "Asomaton" Property

The lands of the Asomaton Petraki Monastery include the whole Iykavittos hill of 1,000 stremmas, the Pangrati forest of 30 stremmas and the Syngros forest of 300 stremmas. The monastery owns also 4,500 stremmas at Goudi (at Agios Ioannis O Theologos), 3,577 stremmas at Kareas, 6,581 stremmas at Vari (Krevatakia, Korpi, etc.), 1,100 stremmas at Faskomilia of Vouliagmeni, 400 stremmas at Pevkoto of Vari, 3,700 stremmas at Kokkinaras, 61 stremmas at Vouliagmeni (where the Air Force Academy is located), 36 stremmas at Marathon (Bey's property), 6 stremmas at Melissia (near the sanatorium), 540 stremmas at Fasideri of Ekali and 27 stremmas at Menidi (in Metamorfosis).

Also, the Kokkinara quarries (1,700 stremmas) and the Metokhi of Parnis (800 stremmas) belong to this monastery.

### Osios Meletios and Faneromeni Properties

The forestland "Khonos" at Mandra of Klevisis is now under negotiation and belongs to the Osios Meletios Holy Monastery which also owns the forestland of 6,600 stremmas (near the monastery).

The Faneromeni Holy Monastery owns a forestland of 2,153 stremmas (near the monastery) and farmlands in Agios Vlasios of Megara (1,100 stremmas) and at Kandili (700 stremmas).

### Farmlands, Forestlands and Mines

The church properties owned by provincial metropolises and which are now being negotiated are farmlands, forestland, and meadows. The biggest one, 16,272 acres, is in the region under the jurisdiction of the Kalavryta Metropolis. The greatest forest areas covering 116,350 stremmas are in the region of the Aitolia-Akarnania Metropolis. And most of the meadows, 136,760 stremmas (total area), are in the region of the Thivai and Leivadeia Metropolis.

On the other hand, the Galatakis mines covering an area of 4,000 stremmas belong to Khalkis. They produce magnesite (granulite) and are leased to entrepreneur Galatakis who gives the metropolis 2 percent of the gross sales of this (fine) product. The metropolis collects more than 10 million drachmas annually.

Under negotiation also is the Strofylia 25,000-stremma coastal forestland (property of the Ileia Metropolis) which is covered with pine trees).

Finally, the church property (under negotiation) includes 2 fish hatcheries which are owned by the Preveza Metropolis.

### Areas Owned by Each Metropolis

The areas under negotiation are located in the following metropolises (figures in stremmas):

1. Aitolis-Akarnania: farmlands, 667,000; forestlands, 116,350.
2. Argolis: farmlands, 306; meadows, 3,287.
3. Arta: farmlands, 358; forestlands, 400; meadows, 26,000.
4. Veroia and Neousa: farmlands, 4,990; forestlands, 14,272.
5. Grevena: farmlands, 266; forestlands, 3,000; pasturelands, 7,000.
6. Gortyni and Megalopolis: farmlands, 598; forestlands, 4,350; pasturelands, 150.
7. Dimitrias: farmlands, 3,740; forestlands, 118,047.
8. Drama: farmlands, 12; forestlands, 5,050; pasturelands, 50.
9. Drouincopolis-Konitsa: farmlands, 1,230; forestlands, 8,161; pasturelands, 25.
10. Elasson: farmlands, 83; forestlands, 36,315.
11. Zakynthos: farmlands, 2,362; pasturelands, 300; forestlands, 25.
12. Ileia: farmlands, 2,120; forestlands, 9,100; pasturelands, 3,250.
13. Thessaliotis: farmlands, 354.
14. Thivai and Leivadeia: farmlands, 2,020; pasturelands, 136,760.
15. Thira: farmlands, 1,878; forestlands, 500; pasturelands, 4.
16. Ioannina: farmlands, 1,352; forestlands, 26,555; pasturelands, 2,334.
17. Karystia: farmlands, 24; forestlands, 15,000; pasturelands, 400.
18. Kalavryta and Aigialeia: farmlands, 16,271; forestlands, 59,102.
19. Kastoria: farmlands, 363; forestlands, 1,208; pasturelands, 29.
20. Kerkyra and Ithaki: farmlands, 250.
21. Kozani: farmlands, 283; forestlands, 20,600; pasturelands, 5.5.

22. Korinthia: farmlands, 2,145; forestlands, 8,900; pasturelands, 35,250.
23. Kitrou: farmlands, 15; forestlands, 69,000.
24. Kefallinia: farmlands, 6,966; forestlands, 3,334; pasturelands, 4,183.
25. Larisa and Platamon: farmlands, 135; pasturelands, 31.
26. Levkas: farmlands, 227; forestlands, 750.
27. Mandinea-Kynouria: farmlands, 6,888; forestlands, 577; pasturelands, 3,643.
28. Messinia: farmlands, 2,416.
29. Mithymni: farmlands, 2,965; pasturelands, 230.
30. Mytilini: farmlands, 462; forestlands, 620; pasturelands, 4,630.
31. Navpaktia and Evrytania: farmlands, 12,041; forestlands, 577; pasturelands, 3,643.
32. Nikopolis and Preveza: farmlands, 35; pasturelands, 2,000.
33. Parasythia: farmlands, 425; forestlands, 5,170; pasturelands, 400.
34. Patrai: farmlands, 900; forestlands, 3,280; pasturelands, 12,500.
35. Paronaxia: farmlands, 976; pasturelands, 5,080.
36. Samos: farmlands, 11,535; forestlands, 4,061.
37. Serrai: farmlands, 5,564; forestlands, 18,000.
38. Sisanion-Siatista: farmlands, 373; forestlands, 20,378; pasturelands, 2,513.
39. Sparti: farmlands, 1,342; pasturelands, 6,320.
40. Syros and Tinos: farmlands, 62,779; pasturelands, 1,577.
41. Trikki and Stagai: farmlands, 251; forestlands, 71,210; pasturelands, 98,030.
42. Ydra-Spetsai: farmlands, 2,350; forestlands, 20,821; and farmlands of undetermined area.
43. Pthiotis: farmlands, 1,538; forestlands, 1,350; pasturelands, 1,500.
44. Florina: farmlands, 14,700.



45. Fokis: farmlands, 547; forestlands, 1,300; pasturelands, 2,000.

46. Khios: farmlands, 2,302; forestlands, 1,500.

47. Khalkis: farmlands, 2,157; forestlands, 80,500.

Some of the above areas are managed by the Organization for the Administration and Management of Church Property (ODDEP) and are considered "liquidable" and others are managed by the metropolises themselves and are considered "retainable."

#### Remaining Quarries

Among the quarries under negotiation (besides the one leased by Skalistiras in Evvoia) are those of Ymittos, Khasia, Skaramangas, Legrainai and Ydra.

The Ymittos quarries are not in operation at present. In 1971 they were providing the church with 3 million drachmas (in the form of rent).

The Khasia quarry contains large quantities of "red-white marble grit," according to a study.

The Skaramangas quarries contain calcareous petrification (fossils). Proper exploitation of these quarries would yield (according to an estimate) 50 million drachmas annually.

A geological survey made at the Legrainas quarry showed that it contains marble beds.

These are the real estate data under negotiation between the state and church. It is possible that when the agreement is signed they may prove to be accurate, smaller or larger (since ODDEP, or a metropolis can still buy or sell property openly or secretly and since their [boundary] determination or definition relies on the good faith of the possessors).

Yet, the signing of a preliminary agreement will safeguard the state's interests during the specific negotiations. With regard to the city real estate owned by the church the picture is cloudy. No one knows what (and how much) real estate data "are hidden in the [clergy's black] top hats."

At any event, in Athens the church has three buildings which house ministries (the state pays monthly rents). One houses the Ministry of Education (which is obscuring the little church adjacent to its massive size). The other houses the Ministry of Interior (the bookstore of the Apostolic Diaconate is in its basement). The third one houses the services of the Ministry to the Premier (opposite the Athens Cathedral).

Church-owned apartment buildings are at: 5 Iofondos St., 30 Sarri St., 5 Astydamandos St., Akharnon, Ioulianou and Naxou Sts., 6-8 Minnermou St., Kononos-Theagenous and Patision Sts., 30 Athinas St., Ergotimou, Asklipiou,



Thoukididou, Tsamidou-Evripidou and Sappous Sts., 30 Orfanidou-Valaoritou St., 8 Andigonidon-Ptolemaion St., Elkiviadou, Agothoupoleos, et. al. The church also owns the Elektra Hotel (on Ermou St.). It is estimated that in Athens alone the church owns about 50 big buildings and according to a 1972 estimate the church was collecting rents from its real estate properties totaling 60 million drachmas annually. On the other hand, a recent estimate puts the value of the church-owned real estate at 500 billion drachmas.

### The Holy Sepulchre

It is not only the Church of Greece that owns property. The Holy Sepulchre Exarchy whose offices are near the Asirides in Plaka owns real estate in Greece also. It owns buildings which house five theaters: the Adral, Dionysia, Khatsikhristou, Attikon and Diana. The Holy Sepulchre (which in this case operates as "theater agent") leases its theaters to theatrical groups of its choice, thus practicing politics also. The plays presented in these theaters express (occasionally) the whim of the Holy Sepulchre as to whom it wants to serve: God or Mammon.

### Terrace for the Children

Before the dictatorship the Metropolitan of Dimitrias had donated part of the area around the (Volos) church for the purpose of developing a "children's joy park" where the children of the city's unique children's station could play.

During the dictatorship the new metropolitan flattened the children's park with a bulldozer. Thus he eliminated the children's joy and destroyed the flowers, the shade and fountains and did not allow the children to play in the area any longer.

The area has been turned into a parking lot where church officials park their cars occasionally. The juntist metropolitan has left but his "project" has remained, and since then the children play on a terrace.

This, too, is an example of the way the church "utilizes" its real estate property.

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CSO:4908

## POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL SITUATION IN TRIESTE

Milan IL GIORNO in Italian 1, 3, 4, 6 Mar 80

[Article by Antonio Airo]

[1 Mar 80, p 4]

[Text] Trieste Is in Decline but Is Bursting With Health.

The city is living in a political, social and economic reality that is rich in contradictions. Unemployment does not exist in practice and per-capita income is among the highest, but the young are abandoning it. The malaise testifies to the uncheckable decline.

Trieste, 1 March--Trieste is sick. Economically, politically. There are quite a few symptoms. But there are many countersymptoms also. Because Trieste is a city made up of so many things put together, of old and new, of regret and pride. The Trieste reality is rich in contradictions; it is "anomalous," to use the vivid expression of Siro Lombardini, minister of state participations.

It is not a depressed city, to be sure. On the contrary, it is alive, rich, dynamic. Its per-capita income puts it among the highest in Italy; the level of consumption is high, even if it is paid for with the high prices that make Trieste one of the most expensive cities. Unemployment is "frictional"--that is, nonexistent. Fewer than 3,000 unemployed are on the job-placement lists, out of a working population of more than 96,000. "In Trieste there is effectively no unemployment," one reads in a recent document from the Manufacturers Association. And the 3,000 unemployed? They are only "an available statistic, because there is a labor shortage," and hundreds of requests, both for specialized personnel and for general workers, remain unmet.

But as emerges from a recent microinquiry in a local weekly, IL MERIDIANO DI TRIESTE, among a group of preparatory-school students, 50 percent of the young people "want to leave" this city, termed "small and provincial." Trieste has a population of a little more than 260,000, but more than

100,000 pensioners--a veritable army. They are minimum pensions or a little higher, in the category of 120,000-130,000 lire per month, and they put the city among the "assisted" ones, like certain situations in the south. In a study by two university professors, Mario Giusti and Gian Paolo Ladu (we will quote them several times in this investigation), these elderly people are defined as "more than pensioners, they are benefiterers from pensions." Their income does not by itself keep up the city's high standard of living. One gets an inkling of broad areas of "underground" economy, or something of that kind.

Within a few months, from July to 15 days ago, the city was shut down twice by a general strike of the Trieste workers; the trade unionists "angrily" asked for 1,000 more jobs in new industrial activities; in the glorious San Marco arsenal, more than 200 workers are on wage supplement; in another two firms, the former Vetobel and Dreher, wage supplements have been paid for more than 50 months. "Isn't all this a paradoxical situation, while there is a labor shortage?" asks Mauro Gialuz. But there is an implicit reply.

What seems to emerge, then, is the face of a tired city, whose productive fabric has worn out and which has lost--says an attentive observer--"its capacity to face reality with risk to its own future." The pessimists speak of "uncheckable decline." Sticking better to the actual situation, the realists declare that "too many indications show the decline of Trieste and warn of the danger of acceleration of the negative tendencies. In synthesis, Giusti and Ladu maintain that "the characteristics of the Trieste area are not those of depression but rather of a now well-consolidated stagnation." Unless something new happens, Trieste will necessarily be reshaped. "It obviously would not disappear," says Giusti, "but it would become something profoundly different."

The premises, those set by the demographic change, are certainly not encouraging. They evoke the image of a candle slowly going out because air is being taken away from it--in this case, the people of Trieste.

Thirty years ago, in 1951, Trieste had a population of 272,522; as of 31 December last, it had dropped to 261,291. A statistical projection explained by the vice chairman of the regional council, Sergio Coloni, indicates that within 10 years the city will have fewer than 240,000 inhabitants, and that by the year 2000 the population will be little more than 222,000--50,000 fewer in half a century.

The demographic picture of Trieste does not inspire optimism. There are far more deaths than births: 20,612 funerals as against 9,525 baptisms or similar ceremonies in the last 5 years; and the number of marriages is down. The natural imbalance is not compensated for by migratory movement. Also in the last 5 years, 15,809 citizens have left Trieste; and 15,967 new ones have been registered by the city. So many arrive, so many leave. There are already more than 110,000 elderly now, and their number is destined to increase. Trieste, in sum, is on the way to becoming a city of old people, perhaps because "it no longer has faith in itself," as a well-known pediatrician is said to have declared.

The solution lies in a high rate of immigration. But this is possible, it is said in several circles, only if there are new industrial initiatives and only if the attitude among the Trieste youth that "it is better to be a doorkeeper in a bank than a specialized worker" is overcome, along with the attitude that "one can always return to Trieste when one is pensioned off."

But the arrival of new citizens is not easy. But the arrival of new citizens is not easy. After the war and the peace treaty that defined the borders with Yugoslavia, Trieste has practically no hinterland. The province, indeed, is reduced to only six communes, and the capital by itself represents 90 percent of the population. Thus there remains only the rest of Italy, beginning with Friuli--which, however, is in a takeoff phase and therefore scarcely inclined to send its inhabitants to Trieste, as happened for years--or nearby Yugoslavia.

Immigration of this kind would not at all conflict with the cosmopolitanism of which the city is proud. A local historian has written with regard to the city's mythical golden age, that of Maria Teresa of Austria: "A strange and uniform crowd thronged in, so little devoted to the city that at a certain time it seemed that it even wanted to change its name. There came Slovenes, Greeks, Serbs, other eastern Balkan people, English and Dutch, but more than these, Italians...."

But in broad strata of the population, cosmopolitanism has taken on an attitude of closure, of intolerance, of chauvinism toward the Slavs. A symptom of this is the words of a member of the Meloni, which governs the city, to a conference on the future of Trieste: "the only corrective," he said, "is an infusion, mainly an injection of labor force--which we naturally hope, though, will be of Italian blood."

The population decline is the most obvious symptom of the progressive atrophy of the economic fabric of Trieste," as Giusti and Ladu write. Others are to be sought in the city's productive structure itself. At the beginning of the 1950's, Trieste seemed to hold all the cards needed to become a "mature economy" area, as the experts say, where a strong and modern industrial structure, an expanding tertiary sector and an outstanding public administration could have coexisted. But the mechanism was somehow "jammed and blocked." From that time, Trieste began to fall ill--psychologically before physically.

[3 Mar 80, p 4]

[Text] Trieste Is Floating on Myths, Such as the Port.

For the "Meloni," it is the only sector to be developed in order to overcome the crisis. The economic analyses that assign the activating role to industry are not taking hold.

Trieste, 3 March--From a letter to a daily: "For a half century and more of being joined to Italy, Trieste has remained our country's most eccentric, most foreign, most unknown principal city. By union with Italy, Trieste



lost a position of supremacy; that of a great port of one of the two or three biggest world empires. Neither fascism nor the Republic has sought to alleviate the economic decline of the city by means of initiatives that would respect its centuries-old mercantile and trading vocation, connected with a port of world horizon." In these words there is a clear indication of the "myths," with all that they contain of positive and negative, on which the city feeds and in which it takes shelter, almost making a shield of them, in difficult moments.

The myth of the port above all: of the "umbilical cord of the world" emporium city that Maria Teresa of Austria is supposed to have wanted Trieste to become. A port, in brief, that bestows wealth, power, because around the port are shipyards, maritime traffic, shipping lines. The port is a "myth" that from its origin has had its highs and lows, as is proved by the resistance of the local "patricians" to the foreign merchants in Maria Teresa's own time, but that even today involves very broad strata of the population, while the shipyards are in crisis, port traffic is going through a difficult time, and the shipping lines, with few exceptions, seem to prefer other terminal ports.

A modern, efficient, well-equipped port is essential for the city's economy. And as the various economic and social categories maintain, the shippers above all, it has to be a port that favors "the international function" of Trieste. "Because of its geographical position," they say, "our port cannot, of course, become an alternative to the other Italian ports, but it can be competitive with foreign ports--provided that its revival is really desired."

The city's general consensus ends at this point. Trieste then divides into those who declare that the port, and practically the port alone (this is the basic principle on the Melone's list), can permit the city to overcome the crisis (the new industries, in brief, are only accidental) and those who maintain that a maritime port, even the best-equipped, is not in itself productive of wealth and labor if it is not backed up by industrial activities and complementary transformation and marketing activities. "In the last century," Franco Richetti, DC [Christian Democratic Party] group leader in the communal Council, points out, "the port flourished because it could also count on industrial activity that today does not exist anymore."

The port and industry should, in sum, coexist. But it is the latter that must have an activating role, and not vice-versa. These are also the conclusions of the study by professors Mario Giusti and Gian Paolo Ladu, who maintain the necessity of "a revival of the industrial sector to draw the other sectors too, especially the port sector, along with it."

The port-industry debate itself shows the limits of the "myth," at its zenith during the period of fascism, of "Trieste the beacon of Italianness." If, indeed, there is one period of heavy economic decline, it is precisely the fascist period. Says Richetti again, "there was no initiative by private firms on the industrial level, while in contrast the biggest Trieste



firms went into state participation, making Trieste perhaps the most IRI [Industrial Reconstruction Institute]-dominated city in Italy." The fascist corruption was covered over by expansion of prestigious construction projects (the "restoration" of the historic center, the fixing-up of San Giusto, the maritime station) capable of satisfying "the little people" too. Richetti observes again: "Behind this expansion, however, there was a void, destruction of typical environmental values and the opportunity for possible building speculation too, to the advantage of very few groups."

Nor, after the war, did the "myth" of Trieste as the "last bastion of the West" do the city much good. The borders were uncertain; the city was swollen with Istrian refugees full of resentment; it was the years of the cold war, of head-on confrontation; irredentism was colored also with "independentist" tone; the fascination of the free territory as a "real little state being born"--as someone who knows the city's life thoroughly told me--guaranteed by the United States fell on sensitive ears. And the United States, for its part, was prodigious with financial aid and undertakings; it did not want there to be any social and political tensions in that small troubled and disputed area which is Trieste. Beyond the genuine popular explosion, Italy's subrogation continued an assistance type of activity. The world shipbuilding crisis was not yet looming, and in the "thriving" 1950's--that is how they are recalled by those who lived through that period--"a ship was commissioned with the shipowner's having put out hardly a lira. A third of the cost was covered by the ERP [European Recovery Program] funds, and another third was given to the shipyards so that they would scale down their prices. One would get around to the rest when the ship was already in the water." The shipyards had the wind in their sails; the industries were in one way or another "incentivized" to set up shop. The industrial zone was born at Zaule, along the Noghère valley, toward the sea. It now has 170 firms, with more than 10,000 employees. But some are closed, others are working at very low capacity, and there have been practically no new investments for years.

In the 1960's, while the shipbuilding crisis which Trieste paid for dearly, with its consequences on induced activity, the drop in port traffic, a certain geographical isolation, which brought higher transport costs because of the absence of adequate interconnection infrastructures, and above all, the end of comprehensive assistance, did not "knock out" the city, in the colorful expression used by a broker, they considerably weakened it.

"Trieste is going into a crisis," stresses Mauro Gialuz, secretary of the CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor], "when the assistance mechanism, justified by the cold-war years, stops running." Richetti confirms: "Crisis breaks out when not only the local politicians and administrators but also public opinion at large start wondering about the future of Trieste."

At this point, the contradictions of a city that gets more upset about a television program than about a factory in crisis are revealed clearly. On the one hand are those who hold that the city's decline, "the process of

atrophy" of its economy, can be blocked with a revival of the industrial sector, since the considerable expansion of the tertiary sector and of public administration are not sufficient. The "industrialization" approach is countered by a more rigid position, which is expressed, indeed beyond the intentions of its upholders, in a process of "self-preservation," of defense of preestablished positions, positions almost of privilege, because founded on a high standard of living, on a boom in trade with neighboring Yugoslavia, which, though verbally detested, proves very profitable in the concrete, even if--notes Gialuz--"it gives more opportunities for revenue than jobs." This process is favored by the high average age of the citizens, who are basically satisfied enough with the way things are going.

This feeling of "self-preservation" is more widespread than is thought, and feeds on the "myths" recalled in a mist of lament and deprecation, of pride and defense of one's own specificity, and frustrations from so many hopes betrayed. At the political level, this explains the broad consensus in favor of the Melone list and is expressed in a demand for autonomy that would separate Trieste distinctly from Friuli, preventing regional unity. On the economic level, there is the exaltation of the emporium city, of the integral free port; rejection--using a referendum also (and the communal Council should decide shortly)--of the Italo-Yugoslav free industrial zone on the Carso, provided for by the treaty of Osimo. This rejection was motivated by ecological considerations, for preservation of an exceptional environment, even if it has been "spoiled" by hundreds of habitations that do not have adequate sanitary facilities. But deep down there is the rejection of "ethnic pollution" that would be caused by the eventual settling of several thousand Slave workers.

There are those who accuse this Trieste reality of being "myopic," of nurturing an attitude of qualunquismo against the national parties and against Rome. But it is a very diffuse reality, "haughty and frustrated," together with the fact that it cannot be ignored but rather manifests itself in its deepest motivations. An illustration of this reality is to be found in a recent article in the weekly LA VOCE LIBERA, which largely speaks for the Melone group, who govern the city. "Trieste," it says, "has a function that must be granted to it. A European trade bridge function, a function as a startup city and a city of shipyards with its place in the vaster European homeland, as a bridge between cultures, economies and peoples. Not as a doormat for whoever arrives to depredate it, not as a great incurably ill patient to be kept alive with artificial arteries, kidneys, lungs, or with the transfusion of international agreements that cut out its living body." Still the "myths" coming back!

[4 Mar 80, p 4]

[Text] Jeans Have Become Trieste's New Coat of Arms.

Industry has lost importance and employees, and the tertiary sector and public administration have grown in compensation. A city that lives on a substantial but ephemeral business boom.

Trieste, 4 March--Trieste is like a giant with a feet of clay. Its weak point--paradoxically, still the strongest--consists in the slow industrial decline, both in public industry, which has a decisive role in the city, and in private industry. Twenty years ago, the industrial sector represented 57.71 percent of all productive activity and had 43.52 percent of all employed persons. Today, the percentages are, respectively, 54.5 percent and 38.7 percent. In brief, industry has lost importance, and especially, employees.

In compensation, the tertiary sector and public administration have grown. According to the economic handbooks, the growth of these sectors is a positive event. They are the sign of a "mature" structure. In certain ways, this is true. Trieste has a strong and old tradition in insurance and credit (one need only think of the role of the Assicurazioni Generali), in large-scale brokering ("one of the most prestigious branches of the Trieste economy," the regional councillor for industry, Dario Rinaldi, called it), transport and communications, the port and all the related trade activities. But this "higher tertiary" sector, as it is called, and which includes rare types of installations and services, in line with the strongest economies at the European and international levels, employs barely 10,000 persons. It is necessary, but it is not enough to get the city out of the crisis.

Then there is the traditional commerce, retail and wholesale, which is an everyday matter in a mercantile city like Trieste. But the trade of Venezia Giulia is in large part conditioned by nearby Yugoslavia. Every day, thousands and thousands of Slavs come over the border, which is within gunshot of the city. Last year, nearly 29 million transits were registered at the border stations. It is a very open border, then, one that produces a stream of nearly a trillion lire spent in the Trieste shops for merchandise and products. There is one product, jeans, that from Trieste go by more or less known routes all the way to Moscow, all of Eastern Europe and Siberia, and that are the symbol of this mercantile boom--substantial but at the same time ephemeral, always on the razor's edge.

"It is enough for something to happen in Yugoslavia, and the consequences are immediately felt in our market," declare some Trieste businessmen. And that "something" may be devaluation of the dinar, and more rigorous controls at the border stations, or the adoption of precautionary measures. The commercial boom feels the effects at once, and the Triestini stop talking with bitter irony about jeans as Trieste's new coat of arms in place of the white halberd on a red field, and even stop muttering against the Slavs, hoping that "without Ponterosso jeans (Ponterosso is one of the most central markets, in the heart of the city), Trieste would finally be free again of people who only know how to dirty the streets."

The massive expansion of this commerce, "so unstable and transient," has accentuated the "brutal tertiarization" of the city, as Mauro Gialuz, secretary of the CGIL, puts it, but it has not had positive effects on employment and on Trieste's productive fabric, except for the pocketbooks of a few merchants. In their study of the city's economy, professors Mario Giusti and Gian Paolo Ladu stress that the growth of the tertiary sector--

a sector conditioned, however, by a precarious trade "prevented from turning to richer markets and directed toward the local outlets or the one bordering neighboring Yugoslavia"--has not taken on the proportions necessary to offset the decline of industry.

One arrives at the same conclusions when one considers the expansion of the public-administration sector, which, with 27,000 employees, appears to be one of the activating sectors. "But," notes Ladu, "in Trieste more than elsewhere, public administration has the task of alleviating the frictions arising from the economic situation." Professor Giusti, for his part, observes that the growth of public employment "is typical of cities such as Matera, Nuoro, Campobasso; but it is not typical of the areas of the north; indeed, it is absolutely abnormal." The city's high per-capita income and high standard of living keep Trieste from being "an underdeveloped area," as could be deduced from the sizable number of public employees. It is another of the "anomalies" of Trieste's reality.

In the face of the disturbing population drop and the consolidated economic stagnation, it is possible to get out of the rut of malaise only by revival of industrial activities. "Even just maintaining what there already is," stresses Ennio Antonini, president of the industrial-zone board, "is dangerous. It would lead to irreparable wearing-out of our productive fabric. Therefore, new industries are needed."

The position of the trade-unionists is summarized by Gialuz: preservation of the present employment levels, and in particular, 1,000 new jobs, "as an indication of an effective reversal of trend." The trade-union objective is "a province-city of 300,000 population, in which the economic sectors are better-balanced, and coherent development of the port. In this way it will be possible to put an end to the precarious economy based on assistance, on an illusory commerce that gives a false sense of well-being."

"A thousand more jobs are fine," maintains Franco Richetti, head of the DC group in the communal Council; "but where are we going to find them? In Trieste today, there is an older general-labor force, and young white-collar workers who do not seem enthusiastic about working in the firms." A new industrial policy, not based on assistance, therefore requires a different approach to the question of occupational training. "Today, the bodies responsible for this task," notes Gialuz, "have not produced a qualified or specialized labor force." He calls especially for high-technology industrial establishments, capable of giving employment to the technicians and college graduates in which the city is so rich (because of a positive school situation that goes back to the time of Austria) and who today are largely forced to leave. An extensive technical and scientific base can be offered by the area of scientific research that will arise in Trieste in implementation of the treaty of Osimo and for which a great deal of experimentation and applications can be found in collaboration between industry and university.

Not even the entrepreneurs are blowing different horns. They are against basing the economy on assistance. "The subsidized-economy measures are not



capable of reactivating the economic dynamics of an area whose characteristics show consolidated stagnation," one reads in their report. They want initiatives different from the past. "The problems peculiar to the Trieste area cannot be tackled by means of the promotional instruments tried out for the depressed areas; original measures are needed for them." This position is shared by the trade unionists--"even if," notes Gialuz, "they have so far espoused it more by words than by concrete deeds."

As one sees, the forces in favor of reviving industry, but without, at the same time, neglecting revival of the port, are very extensive. They include national parties, trade unions, entrepreneurial forces. But this front collides with another one, also extensive, aligned mainly with the Melone group, which does not explicitly say no to new industrial installations but throws all its weight into the question of where these new initiatives will go.

It is clear that the fight on this point, which explicitly is termed the "free industrial zone" on the Carso, provided for by the treaty of Osimo, will be a white-hot one, because behind the yeses and behind the noes lie two different conceptions of the city and its future. A settlement between them would appear difficult today, and therefore Trieste's sickness will not be easy to cure either--unless the convention between the EEC and Yugoslavia, signed recently in Brussels and setting specific norms for the industrial and commercial relations between the European Community and the neighboring East European country, gives some breathing space. We shall see.

[6 Mar 80, p 2]

[Text] Trieste Fears the 'Pollution' by the Factories (or by the Slavs?)

The opposition from the "Melone" majority group is intransigent, but the other city maintains that with these "closures," it will not be possible to overcome the economic crisis.

Trieste, 6 March--Our voyage into Trieste's malaise concludes with a question: does industrial revival, which a broad front considers to be the necessary way to get out of the "stagnation" in which the city finds itself, have to occur on the Carso? The answer would have to be "yes," because an international treaty between Italy and Yugoslavia, the Osimo treaty, ratifies the creation of a free industrial zone astride the Carso. Yugoslavia insists on full respect for the agreement. "The siting on the Carso is not subject to opinion," is the refrain of the leaders of the neighboring nation. They have repeated this, in different ways, on every occasion. This rigidity on principle turns into flexibility when the question of the size of the zone arises. The Yugoslavs stress that it has to be divided evenly: so many hectares in Italy, an equal number on the other side of the border.

But for 4 years, the city has been violently split on this choice of the Carso. The national parties, which approved the treaty of Osimo, have been



practically "wiped out," as has happened with the minor lay forces, or radically reshaped, as has happened with the DC, the PSI [Italian Socialist Party] and the PCI. Gaining from it has been the Melone list, which is decidedly opposed--and has broad consensus from public opinion--to these installations, and asks for a resolute renegotiation of the economic clauses of the treaty of Osimo. The basic motivation for rejecting the chimneys on the Carso is ecological.

The mayor himself, Manlio Cecovini, leader of the "Melone," in his European Parliament member's garb (he was, in fact, elected as an independent in the PLI [Italian Liberal Party]), has made himself the spokesman for this position. In an oral question at Strasbourg, he asked for "institution of a Carso international ecological zone," describing as inadvisable any new industrial and urban installations "upstream from the city of Trieste, because of the high risk of very serious environmental disorder and for objective technical and economic reasons that argue against them." The Carso, "because of its extraordinary and irreplaceable geologic and physiographic (geomorphologic) structure, represents a natural resource of high interest and of international scientific importance," and is incompatible with industries because "more than 100 new industrial establishments and a new population of perhaps more than 100,000" might locate in the Carso zone.

Behind the sacrosanct defense against pollution, though, one can note concerns of an ethnic character on account of the possible settling of Slavic peoples. The mayor of Trieste uses the conditional and the "maybes." More drastically, the "Melone's" weekly advises that the ecological danger is only one of the "many, very many dangers." There are others who advise against the Carso as an industrial zone: "Economic absurdities, ethnic diaspora, cultural destruction, genocide, absurd diplomatic, legal, national implications. And this at a time when, with the post-Tito period already started, no one can assure us that instead of the familiar "graniciari" we might not have the soldiers of the Red Army garrisoning our borders."

Exaggerations? Perhaps. But they are indicative of the heated-up atmosphere that divides and splits the city. It is not by chance that just days ago, the process that should lead to a popular referendum next October for or against the zone on the Carso was initiated. To judge from this city's moods, the result of the referendum is a foregone conclusion. Anyway (and the "Melone" will get further advantages out of it), it will sharpen the opposition between the two cities that coexist in Trieste.

The opposition to the industrial zone has different gradations. In some cases it is radical rejection of any type of industry, called a "Trojan horse," either on the Carso or near the sea; "nor do we want to unload it onto our brothers in Gorizia," as the president of the Union of Istrians writes. In other cases it is a rejection, "but only within the framework of the province of Trieste," of the action of the committee that is spearheading the demand for the industrial free zone (the old "myth" of the emporium city) for Trieste and province. Finally, it is a rejection limited

solely to the siting on the Carso, while it does not reject--indeed, it calls for--industrialization at Noghere, "where there is a lot of space available," as a shipper puts it.

But Noghere--as a good many people declare--does not have much area available, and in any case it is all in Italian territory, even if it is all close to Yugoslavia. "If the mixed industrial free zone were moved here," says a businessman, "we would have the same objections as for the Carso on account of the pollution caused by the Slavs. Yet the Slovenes are a reality who cannot be ignored."

The discussion goes back to Osimo. "Let it be clear," states Mauro Gialuz, CGIL secretary, "that any eventual installations on the Carso must be considered additive, and not substitutes for the existing ones." Trade unionists, entrepreneurs and politicians talk about "eventual installations" on purpose. The "no" camp has achieved one result: for practical purposes, the zone on the Carso has been changed in size to 400 hectares, 200 per side, and actual creation of it is strictly subject to the results of the "so-called feasibility studies."

Gialuz frames the problem in this way: "Is this zone of any use or not? Are the entrepreneurs interested in going into it or not? If we consider it valid, what is the cost-benefit ratio? Let us get to the bottom of things about its economic advisability; let us dig out all the results of the studies and then finally decide one way or the other." It is the same line that the entrepreneurs take: "It is time to set out for public consideration," they declare, "the modalities and content of the work that is being carried on, even if it is incomplete and in some ways problematic. Only in this way," it is our opinion and our suggestion, "will it be possible to reopen in Trieste and with Trieste the dialog interrupted in recent years." Ennio Antonini, president of the industrial-zone board, adds: "Before deciding pro or con, let us await the conclusions of the investigation that is examining from all points of view, the ecological in particular, the technical feasibility of the installations. And if it turns out that the free zone is not a problem, why change the site?"

A realistic position, it seems--and one that is found, quite recently, in the convention between the EEC and Yugoslavia the "associates" the latter with the European Community, granting all the withdrawal rights to Yugoslav products. This, an entrepreneur tells me, "confirms the feeling that Osimo was desired more by the EEC than by Italy itself. Now the treaty talks about cooperation between the two nations. And cooperation is something more than just industrial installations. In addition, the treaty stresses that infrastructures, industries and cooperation must be in the interest of Trieste. If the industries are damaging to Trieste, they are not to be done. This EEC-Yugoslavia hookup then becomes important. Trieste becomes the far-western border of Europe and the gateway to the countries of the East and the Third World. Osimo, therefore, could turn out to be useful.

Franco Richetti, leader of the DC group in the communal council, is just as explicit: "The EEC-Yugoslavia agreement must safeguard Trieste's role, with the infrastructures provided for by the treaty." Osimo, indeed, has a big package, billions of lire, for the road, rail and port connections that are to break down the city's isolation once and for all. Another tidy sum of billions for this purpose--and it is another of the paradoxes of Trieste as critic of its neighbor Friuli--comes from the national disaster that was the earthquake. All the infrastructures financed after the earthquake "coincide with those that had always been indicated as absolutely necessary for the city," and that so far have gone ahead very slowly, even being postponed for years, or have remained in the proposal stage.

There is a risk in the EEC-Yugoslavia convention, and it is that if Osimo is not carried out or is blocked, it might ultimately set in motion a privileged relationship between Yugoslavia and Central Europe, with Bavaria in the lead, "bypassing" Trieste.

Finally, there is a political aspect which Osimo, even if there are rejections and resistances, has resolved. "Leaving the border problems open," notes Gialuz, "would have meant maintaining a state of tension and consequently would have continued to make the assistance logic prevail." Richetti adds: "Because the industries are coming, the infrastructures are needed. But we also need an external political situation, and especially an internal one, that are tranquil, without problems."

Unfortunately, the city's situation is not tranquil yet, because the two 'Triestes--the trading and mercantile one and the industry-port one--are not managing to find a point of understanding. Yet, as a young person has written, "Trieste's economic and political situation will never change until the necessity of collaboration and working together is felt by the very political forces who take turns isolating themselves or prevaricating." An impossible Utopia, or a hope of change?

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CSO: 3104

## PROFILE OF NEW CONFINDUSTRIA PRESIDENT MERLONI

Milan IL GIORNALE NUOVO in Italian 23 Mar 80 p 1

[Article by Cesare Zappulli: "Merloni Has the DC as Part of the Family But Does Not Mix Industry With Politics"]

[Text] His father was a senator, his brother a deputy. At a convention the two brothers revealed contrasting opinions on a particular law. A union official confronted them with this. Vittorio replied: "We are engaged in different activities; therefore, we express different demands." And he does not seem inclined to change.

In Vittorio Merloni, Italian industry has chosen a president who resembles it best; a president, we would say, of hope. Of the two predecessors at the head of Confindustria [General Confederation of Italian Industry], the first, Giovanni Agnelli, enjoyed great prestige but was "aberrant" in that, in his own words, he represented all which had remained in Italy "of a great and private nature"; the other, Guido Carli, gave the management organization an image of culture, teaching among other things, with pitiless superiority, especially in televised discussions in which he fended off attacks, how easy it is to get the best of a stupid interlocutor. Thanks to this heritage, Merloni's Confindustria finds that, in the political world, it has an audience greater than its capacity to furnish electoral votes of fill the Duomo square in Milan and the San Giovanni square in Rome: unfortunately, important measuring sticks in our miserable quantitative democracy. After Agnelli and Carli, conversation between Confindustria and the government ceased, to say the least, being the dialog of Nicodemus: this last character from the Gospel of John who, convinced of the goodness of the preaching of Jesus, went to visit him at night and in secret in order not to incur the wrath of the Pharisees and doctors of law.

Vittorio Merloni makes his debut at a time when politicians and even the union are beginning to understand that, if business hits a slump, the people are out of work: not a brilliant achievement but at least something in a country which, for 18 years, has been actively working against itself along the path outlined in 1962 by Riccardo Lombardi, untiring destroyer.



In addition to this beginning of collective repentance, Merloni, in turn, has other specific endowments which make him a made-to-order president. First, a family industrial tradition which, not by hearsay but through studious listening, gave rise to a pattern of business development which we could define as being "by the handbook," through audacity and also prudence, study not to upset the social environment, awareness of the need of a constant effort toward innovation. The Merloni-Ariston industrial group grew, so to speak, through propagation; but it is significant that, with 3,260 employees in Italy, no plant has more than 425.

Merloni's second trump card is that of the geography of his firms, placed halfway between the Italy of sound development and that of a backward nature, and the fact that even those firms are a kind of "workshop" for the above-mentioned policies of industrialization. As for vineyards, it is a question of terrain. Marche has proved to be a receptive terrain; in wanting to take the plunge and establish a facility in Acerra (Naples), the Ariston-Merloni companies met with unforeseen difficulties. And this experience, made personally by a Confindustria president, can be rather useful in curing any "schemers" from obstinate illusions.

Lastly, Vittorio Merloni is blessed with a certain natural attribute of the "deaf cat" who pretends not to hear only to spring on the mouse at the right moment. The writer knows him to be a very attentive listener and habitual frequenter of meetings in which an attempt is made to ascertain Italy's current reality and map out tomorrow's "scenarios." This entrepreneur, who did not hesitate to entrust the market research of his products to a sociologist of great renown and extracted useful operating information from that research; who likes to meet with Italy's most distinguished economists and even some who are foreign; who is at ease even in erudite conversations, where he generally prefers to listen and assimilate knowledge: this remarkable industrialist knows, for example, and says so, that it no longer makes sense to speak of a "labor market" in a society where, for some time, labor has no longer in any way been a commodity in influencing a price which fluctuates between supply and demand and that whoever hires a worker becomes responsible for his well-being and that of his family.

It may be that this essentially trusting vision of what, in more mythical times, used to be called "the social question" is a reflection of the impression left upon him by his industrial experience in Marche and the successful pattern embodied in the "Adriatic path to development." But the unanimous consensus which brought Vittorio Merloni to Confindustria's top position makes one think that his confidence is contagious. His appointment comes at the precise moment when, lurking in the most obtuse minds and worst-intentioned temperaments is the suspicion that the firm does not have unlimited capacity to pay and that engaging in butting, like goats, against the logic of economic accounting can only lead to bankruptcy, at such a moment it is probable that Merloni's "suave" capacity for persuasion may have a good chance to be expressed.



He will not be a centralizer, for like all people from Marche--and the example of Arnaldo Forlani bears this out--he likes labor but does not want to become its victim. He has already said he will want operative vice presidents, the strict collaboration of the board of directors and council, of all offices. We can believe him. The "deaf cat" will listen and listen; he will store up figures and ideas; and then he will lucidly propose his solutions. We should say something about the Merloni clan and the life of a family where neither money nor power have generated temptations of divisiveness. This is not the case. The only change which a high level of responsibility will make in Vittorio Merloni, called "the tactful one" by his followers, will be that of compelling him to tidy himself up in order not to go around looking as though he had just come from a brawl.

Is there danger of identifying Confindustria with the DC [Christian Democratic Party]? It is permissible to ask ourselves this question at a time when Vittorio Merloni, the official successor of Guido Carli at the head of Confindustria, is politically close to DC milieus. His father Aristide was a DC senator; his brother Francesco is currently a DC deputy. There is more: even Modiano and Abete, the presidents of small business and industrial youth, are gravitating toward Christian Democracy. Does this then mean that Confindustria will be in the hands of the DC in the 1980's? Vittorio Merloni replies by recalling an incident which happened some time ago in Ancona. There was a convention in which he and his brother expressed contrasting opinions. A CGIL [Italian General Confederation of Labor] union leader arose and challenged them on this point. Vittorio, remaining extremely calm, replied that he and his brother are engaged in different activities and therefore express different demands. In short, Merloni has no intention of mixing industry with politics. He is president of the organization of Italian industrialists and will behave as such. Especially with the help of the operative vice presidents (he has always been pleased with Artom, Mandelli and Mattei).

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## PCI NATIONAL COUNCIL APPEAL TO VOTERS FOR LOCAL ELECTIONS

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 20 Apr 80 p 6

[Appeal by the National Council of the Italian Communist Party to the Voters and the Party: "The Strength and the Ideas of the Italian Communist Party in Broadening the Left-Wing Democratic Majorities"]

[Text] 1. The stakes in the next election campaign are very high. The important thing is even further to advance the great democratic process of the shift to the left which took place during the 1975 elections and to beat down the attempt at a recovery by the moderate forces.

The 1975 election results made it possible to create new majorities in a large part of the regions, communities, and provinces and those majorities introduced profound innovations into local government, doing away with the waste of Christian-Democratic mismanagement in government. The left-wing democratic majorities, which ran the regions and the local entities, present a definitely positive record of their stewardship to the voters. That is true in terms of the honesty, cleanliness, and transparency in the management of public affairs. It is also true because of the solid stability of local governments, based on relationships of loyalty and fruitful cooperation between the parties of those majorities as well as a more correct relationship with the opposition. It is also due to the policy of broad citizen participation in the workings of the boards, in regional, provincial, and community life, which was encouraged and practiced in various forms. There have been tremendous difficulties and the situation taken over from prior administrations run by the DC [Christian Democratic Party] was often very bad, such as the new orientation toward centralized government; but these majorities present to the voters an impressive record of achievements in sectors that are decisive in the life of the local communities, such as urban development policy, school construction, utilities, transportation, and health.

There has been a strong commitment toward a new agricultural policy and toward the support of production activities.

During the election campaign, we will not confine ourselves to illustrating this record for all voters but we will also turn it into an object of

debate, confrontation, and effort even further to improve the action aimed at guaranteeing Italians a better quality of life.

2. The communists are asking the voters to cast a vote in order to consolidate and extend the left-wing democratic majorities and to beat down the attempt of the DC to return to the old formulas of local government, characterized by instability, paralysis, inability to do any planning, lack of direction and patronage, as well as mismanagement in government. A vote for the PCI [Italian Communist Party] is decisive in guaranteeing continuity and the development of the gains achieved in so many regions, provinces, and communities in recent years, as well as to make sure that new regions and new local entities will be conquered by the popular and democratic forces. An advance of the PCI will make it possible to provide new impetus for the life of the regions and the local entities, regardless of whether it might determine new majorities or whether it will facilitate the development of a more incisive and fruitful opposition.

3. The programs which the communists are presenting in the regions, in the provinces, and in the communes are inspired by the following fundamental criteria: guaranteeing honesty, transparency, and correctness in the management of public affairs; assuring the stability of local governments through loyal relationships between allied parties in order to implement previously agreed-upon programs; instituting correct relationships, based on the rule of equal political dignity among all democratic parties, independently of their position in the majority or in the opposition; developing citizen participation to the maximum; adopting the method of planning and coordination for the exercise of the functions attributed to the regions, the communes, and the provinces.

These programs are based on the following fundamental choices:

(a) Rigorously implementing the laws which decentralized important economic and social functions on the level of the regions and the communes;

(b) Developing the process of government reform--which is essential for the restoration and renewal of the country--through the full implementation of the regionalist and autonomist principles of the Constitution and in particular the reforms in the setup of the autonomous governing bodies and local finance;

(c) Resolutely and with an overall vision approaching the problems of protecting the environment, fighting against pollution, expansion of green areas, water supply, and civilian infrastructure facilities;

(d) Immediately implementing the reform establishing the "National Health Service" which introduces profoundly innovative principles into community life and the institutions;

(e) Implementing a regional planning policy for economic development with particular emphasis on the sectors of agriculture, small and medium industry, tourism, the crafts, commerce, and vocational training;

(f) Developing a home-construction and urban growth policy which will provide maximum impetus for residential housing construction--achieving a fair balance between public and private housing--as well as construction intended for school, cultural, recreational, and sports activities;

(g) Expanding social services, making sure that they will be run economically and efficiently, with particular reference to kindergartens, outpatient facilities, nursery schools, and those other institutions which have the job of dealing with the problems of childhood and women; to the services and initiatives designed to guarantee the full implementation of the right to study; to activities and steps destined to improve the living condition of those categories which are most exposed to the crisis; to the services designed to guarantee senior citizens dignified and civil living conditions;

(h) To provide maximum impetus for a transportation policy which will put an end to city traffic jams, which for the users--especially the workers and the students--will create rapid and comfortable means of transportation and which will guarantee the economic recovery of the companies.

Through a policy inspired by these criteria and these fundamental decisions, the regions, the provinces, and the communes will increasingly become the moving forces behind an economic and social development process which will combat and defeat the economic crisis and which will positively tackle the problems of the South; they will become an ever more decisive reality in the defense of democracy and the renewal of the state.

4. The success of the PCI during the next election thus is essential in consolidating and expanding the left-wing democratic majorities and in creating better conditions for the existence and effective action of the regions and the local entities. This is also important for more general reasons. An advance of the PCI, which will lead to a new shift toward the left, can have a positive effect on the national political situation. This is why we ask the voters to reduce their consensus with a DC which has shifted to the right and which sticks to anachronistic biases toward the vast popular and democratic force of the communists. The policy of the DC today is an obstacle to the achievement of a revitalizing change. An advance of the PCI will make the opposition to the new administration stronger and more effective, constituting a sure defense against the attempts to turn the national political situation around; it will further encourage the democratic forces wherever they may be in terms of fighting to create the conditions for a political change which will permit the formation of a government of national unity, the only one that can extricate Italy from this crisis.

A vote for the PCI, an advance by the PCI are the strongest response to the ferocious challenge of terrorism because, in that way, we are strengthening the unity of the democratic forces, we are creating better conditions for a policy of economic, political, and moral renewal of the country and for a more decisive action by the government in defense of the life of the citizens and the fight against terrorism, subversion, and violence.



A vote for the PCI, an advance by the PCI will validly contribute to the fight against rearmament, for detente, for the defense of the independence and the sovereignty of peoples and states. They will be a great contribution to the development of the broadest unity of communists, socialists, social-democratic, lay, Christian and Catholic forces--in Italy and Europe --in support of a policy which is aimed at a revival of detente, of the disarmament negotiations and particular missile disarmament in Europe and which will launch new relationships with the Third World, helping their development and assertion.

5. We address a special appeal to the working class, to the mass of women, and to the younger generations.

An advance of the PCI is essential to make sure that the working class will ever more broadly perform its function as a grand national force for renewal.

At a moment when the country's economic, political, and moral crisis weighs most heavily on the life of women, the positions of the DC cause a dangerous delay in handling the big problems of the masses of women in society. Under these conditions, the communists today constitute the force which most coherently fights for the emancipation of women. This is why we ask the mass of women not only to vote for us, not only to help us in electing a larger number of women to the regional, provincial, and communal assemblies; we are also asking them to fight in this election campaign so that, in this great civilian confrontation, we may achieve further progress in the awareness that all society must have of the problem of the women as well as the movement for the emancipation and liberation of women.

The communists address a special appeal also to the younger generation. At decisive moments in the nation's life, the autonomous and revitalizing contribution of the young people has always made its influence felt. By voting for the PCI, through the commitment toward a new assertion of the PCI, the younger generations will be able to make their maximum contribution to the fight for democracy, liberty, knowledge, and work, as well as against poverty, decay, against the scourge of drugs, against violence and crime. In this way, the new generations will help fight to renew the production sector, the schools, the various forms of association life and relations among people and between individuals and society.

6. The National Council of the PCI addresses a special invitation to all comrades, to all organizations, asking them to make sure that the election campaign will be a big dialogue in which the citizens must be the protagonists. For that purpose it is necessary to make sure that the election campaign will be preceded by an atmosphere of civil confrontation and we must be on guard against violence and provocations.

Through the informal voting on programs and the makeup of the slates, we have already launched a broad and fruitful democratic dialogue which must



be maintained and developed gradually in ever new forms, step by step, as we approach election day. We must contact every family, every voter in place of work, in the schools, wherever the civil and political life of the citizens takes place.

We must make a particular commitment to promote the broadest possible donation drive to support our election campaign because in that way we will not only be able to take care of the necessary expenditures but we will strengthen the sense of participation among the citizens, we will concretely fight the battle to inject morality into political life.

The dissemination of our press L'UNITA and RINASCITA--is an essential element in the entire election campaign. All of our organizations must constantly make sure that it will reach the largest number of citizens and voters every day and especially on Sunday.

The election results--not only in the regions, in the provinces, and in the communes--will determine the course of Italian political life for the next several years. The success of the Italian Communist Party is decisive in making sure that this will be another essential moment in the advance of the democratic, popular, and left-wing forces.

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## CUNHAL ADDRESSES RALLY, SCORES GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES

Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 3 Apr 80 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Alvaro Cunhal in Lisbon; date not given]

[Text] Comrades:

We are here today for a very specific purpose: to express, as part of the major activities scheduled for these days, the active solidarity of the Communists and workers of the Lisbon area toward agrarian reform (the revolution's most beautiful conquest), which is steadfastly countering the furious attacks of the reactionary, fascist-oriented Sa Carneiro-Freitas do Amaral government, with the resistance of just causes, the will and unity of the people and the heroism of those who know that the future belongs to them.

The wonderful movement of solidarity toward agrarian reform is winning over the entire country. Agrarian reform has the active support of the working class, the toiling masses and all the truly democratic and progressive forces. The stalwart defense of agrarian reform is the test of real democrats.

The consolidation and continuation of the regime are inseparable from the consolidation and achievement of agrarian reform.

In the agrarian reform area, the workers are defending their land, which was justly expropriated from the landholders. They are defending the livestock which they raised, and the machines which they purchased with their own money. They are defending the fields which they planted with their own hands, with their resources and with their toil. They are defending employment, the bread and the welfare of their families, the present and future of their children and also the national economy and the democratic regime.

The struggle of the agrarian reform workers is being waged strictly within the framework of the institutions and the democratic regime. It is a just struggle against the despotism, arbitrary action, illegality and violence of the reactionary PPD [Popular Democratic Party]-CDS [Social Democratic Center Party] government.

It is a preeminently national and patriotic struggle. Agrarian reform is an historic conquest by our people, and an integral part of the Portuguese democratic system.

Regardless of how rough the road may be, the reactionary offensive will be curbed and finally defeated. The workers will recover the land of which they were illegally robbed. Agrarian reform will halt the offensive and will be totally achieved. The large estates will be eliminated for once and for all, and the land will be turned over to those who work on it, also for once and for all.

#### Defending Agrarian Reform, an Essential Task at Present

What the PPD/CDS government is doing against agrarian reform is a real crime against the Portuguese people and Portugal.

The government claims to be applying the law, but it is not even observing the perverted Barreto Law. It may be said that there is virtually no decision or action on the part of the government that is not in violation of the Constitution and democratic legality.

What typifies the action of the MAP [Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries] is arbitrariness, despotism, brutality, vandalism and disrespect for the most basic human rights.

Concurrently with the most scandalous and illegal allocations of reserves, there have been successive thefts of livestock and machinery, turning over to the landholders the waiting harvests, betterments and improvements which cost the workers thousands of contos, as well as the forced entry and plundering of buildings and even expulsions from dwellings and the destruction of furnishings and possessions, as in the case of Alvalade Sado, which was cited here today by a comrade from the 25 April Cooperative.

There has been a series of provocations, insults, beatings and cudgelings, which have not spared women, old people or children.

The MAP's action in the agrarian reform area is fascism on the loose.

The government is lying when it claims that its action in Alentejo involved the distribution of land to the small farmers. The fascist Casqueiro said the same thing about Barcelos, an area of small properties. The government may perhaps have demagogically distributed a few crumbs, as the fascists used to do in Salazar's time.

But what the government is really doing is restoring the large estates and the power of the large estate-holders. There are families of landholders who, because of the MAP's decisions, have more land today than they had before agrarian reform. There are frequent instances wherein the large estate holders are again owning 1,000, 2,000, 5,000 and even more hectares of land.

The government's goal is obvious: it is the destruction of agrarian reform; it is the elimination of the UCPs/Cooperatives; it is turning over the land "to those who have always had it" (as State Secretary Goulao confessed); it is the restoration of the large estates and of the power of the large estate holders; it is returning to the rural areas of Alentejo and Ribatejo the situation which existed before 25 April, during fascist times: abandoned land, unemployment and poverty.

Such action means that it is the government itself which is acting outside of the law, beginning with the fundamental law of the Portuguese Republic, namely, the Constitution.

Having a majority in the Assembly of the Republic may provide institutional legitimacy for forming a government; but it does not provide any legitimacy for violating the Constitution and for social and political subversion on the part of that government.

To justify the repression, the reactionary forces invoke the need for a "state of law" to exist in Portugal.

But a "state of law" is not the imposition of the most arbitrary and despotic measures of a government as a right, as a law.

A "state of law" means primarily that the state, the government have to submit to right, they have to submit to law, and thus they are precluded from adopting arbitrary and despotic decisions and measures.

The real institution of a "state of law" means that the government must be the first one to respect the Constitution and democratic legality; and, if it should fail to do so, it must be dismissed and replaced by another one.

However, the government deceived itself in its outlook. Hence its shock and extreme nervousness when faced with the great popular resistance to its policy.

The fact that, in Arraiolos, we exposed the government's illegalities and brutality, citing the workers' rights, sufficed to have the government, the reactionary forces and their news media start a chorus of insults and threats, shouting that we are calling for disobedience and insurrection, and demanding persecution, tribunals, the application of this or that article in the Penal Code, convictions, imprisonment and even the illegalization of the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party].

Those individuals do not know the country, they do not know the people, nor do they know the Communists.

If, in 48 years of fascist terrorism, with persecution, arrests, torture, convictions and assassinations, the fascist dictatorship never succeeded in

stifling the voice of the Communists (which is the voice of the people, and the voice of truth), it is far less likely that it can be stifled by a reactionary government doomed to defeat in the new democratic Portugal, ruled by a Constitution which that same government wants to destroy, but which the Portuguese people will manage to defend.

The PCP has always supported, is continuing to support and will actively support the struggle of the agrarian reform workers. There are no forces capable of diverting us from this path.

We said in Arraiolos, and we reiterate here today, that the UCPs/Cooperatives are fully entitled to their land which was illegally assigned as a reserve. They are fully entitled to cultivate it, and not to leave the growing grain-fields abandoned.

We said in Arraiolos, and we reiterate here today, that we are struggling and we shall continue to struggle for the restoration of the legitimate rights of the UCPs/Cooperatives workers to the livestock, the machinery, the fields, the buildings, the houses and the other goods which have been illegally stolen from them.

We said, and we reiterate here today, that we are struggling to have the Barreto Law replaced by another law, in accordance with constitutional principles.

We said, and we reiterate, that we are struggling and we shall continue to struggle so that, when the counterrevolutionary offensive is finally checked, agrarian reform will resume its normal, historical development until all the large estates are completely eliminated and the land is turned over to those who work on it.

The PCP's position is in conformance with the Constitution, with democratic legality, with social justice and with the interests of the people and the nation.

In order to steal the land from the UCPs/Cooperatives, the government has used hundreds of armed GNRs [Republican National Guards], and it has ordered the beating and cudgeling of men, women and children.

Because they were confronted with a new reality and a courageous, legitimate and legal struggle of the working masses, the governments that were enemies of agrarian reform needed 4 years and the backing of powerful armed groups to steal 200,000 hectares of land from the UCPs/Cooperatives.

Now then, on the day when a democratic government is formed (and that day will come), and that government decides to declare the illegal decisions of the MAP nullified and to be rectified, and to recognize the rights of the UCPs/Cooperatives, the workers will not need over 24 hours, and they will not need any military backing (not even a single armed man) to recover the land which legitimately belongs to them.



## The Lawless Government Wants to Destroy the Democratic System

The Portuguese political situation at present displays a special, unique feature.

It is the government which is violating the Constitution, democratic legality and the democratic order, and which is engaging in subversive and coup-oriented activities.

It is the working class, the toiling masses and the people's and workers' movement which are carrying out their activity within the context of the Constitution, and which are demanding that the Constitution and democratic legality be stringently upheld.

Contrary to what the reactionary politicians and writers proclaim, it is not the Communists, it is not the workers who are causing disorders or triggering violence. The Communists are not calling for "civil disobedience;" they are not making "appeals for insurrection;" they are not seeking an "institutional confrontation."

The ones who are upsetting the democratic order and seeking conflicts, the ones who are not only advocating but daily engaging in the most brutal violence, the ones who are creating an atmosphere of civil war, the ones who are seeking an "institutional confrontation" are the reactionary parties and their government.

The government and the reactionary forces backing it are no longer keeping any secrecy: their goal is to destroy the democratic system. For example, Mr Carlos Macedo has called for a "change in the political system," and a "break with the present institutional and constitutional framework."

This is what the Sa Carneiro-Freitas do Amaral government is doing. It is, in fact, "breaking" with the institutional and constitutional framework; it is violating legality and the democratic order; it is destroying the socio-economic structures which the Constitution explicitly declares as being not subject to change through a constitutional revision.

The offensive against agrarian reform and the attempt to destroy it and to restore the large estates is part of the reactionary forces' plan to destroy all the April conquests, to destroy the democratic system and to restore the economic and political power of the monopolies and the large estate owners.

Now completely in evidence, the PPS/CDS coup-oriented plan is intended to be implemented in several main phases:

First: To use the few months remaining until the next elections to destroy, unconstitutionally and in the most complete and rapid way possible, the

April conquests: agrarian reform, nationalization and workers' rights, through an abuse of power on the part of the government and the Assembly of the Republic.

Second: To turn the forthcoming elections into a genuine masquerade, through a new electoral law or a referendum, so that the reactionary parties will remain in the government and have a majority in the Assembly of the Republic, even if (as is expected) they lose hundreds of thousands of votes.

Third: To revise the Constitution unconstitutionally, without upholding either material limits (Article 290) or formal limits (Article 286) on the revision; thereby subverting and eliminating the democratic system, and setting up a new dictatorship.

The destruction of the April conquests is proceeding rapidly.

It is not only the brutal offensive against agrarian reform. It is the offensive against the nationalizations, in flagrant violation of the Constitution, with the lifting of the ban on the sale of enterprises which have been indirectly nationalized or of portions of nationalized enterprises, and with the permission for the creation of private insurance companies and banks, as a springboard to the rebirth of financial capital.

(The government's law has not yet been promulgated, and representatives of the American Bank, Morgan Guaranty Trust, one of the three of MDM (Morgan-Deutsche-Mellos) and Mr David Rockefeller, a banker from the Chase Manhattan Bank, have already arrived in Lisbon to confer with the government.)

In its attack on the nationalized sector and enterprises, the government has categorized some of them ( RN [National Radio], RDP [Portuguese Radio Broadcasting System] and EP, Capital/News) as "enterprises in a difficult economic situation."

In the case of RN, the government, in order to justify the declaration of being in a "difficult economic situation," claimed that RN had a deficit of 842,000 contos in 1979. But eventually, we now see from the report and accounts that RN actually had a profit of 16,000 contos.

There has been confirmation of the spurious grounds for the government's decisions and the extremes reached in hatred for the nationalizations and the desire to create conditions for turning over the nationalized enterprises to big capital.

We wish to solemnly declare once again that the creation of private banks and the turnover of nationalized enterprises to capitalists are incontrovertibly unconstitutional decisions. They are invalid by their very nature. They cannot be recognized. And if, perchance, the government should succeed in carrying them forward, the constitutional situation will have to be reinstated on the day when a democratic government is established. We are

striving so that if, in violation of the fundamental law of the republic, private banks should be created, those banks will be immediately nationalized, without recompense, and that any sectors or enterprises which have been made private again illegally will be returned to the public sector.

The great offensive which the government is leading against the Portugal of April is not just against agrarian reform and the nationalizations. It is a general offensive.

It is the restriction of democratic liberties with constant intervention by the authorities and the use of repressive action, of which the brutality against the agrarian reform workers and the charges by the police at the Lisbon demonstration of 22 March are revolting examples.

It is the assault on the news media, with the practice of monopolizing the nationalized news service by the government parties, which is converting the nationalized TV, radio and newspapers into tools for disinformation, for poisoning public opinion and for hatred of 25 April.

And, as one of the key aspects of the reactionary offensive, it is also the resumption of the unbridled exploitation of the time of the monopolies; the offensive against the workers' rights, with the suspension of collective bargaining, the declaration of enterprises in difficult economic situations, the intensification of selective layoffs, and the establishment of wage ceilings lower than the inflation rate, affecting mainly the workers in the nationalized enterprises and the workers in public administration, for whom an additional 11 and 12 percent are proposed, while in 1979 inflation exceeded 24 percent.

The galloping rise in prices, the rising cost of living and the shortage of provisions such as the disgraceful case of potatoes at present, represent a sudden worsening of the situation of the workers and the population as a whole, with a particular effect on the most underprivileged classes, such as retirees and the disabled.

The government is preparing to announce price cuts in some instances. What does this mean? The price of an item is raised 10 escudos, then the same item is reduced in price by 5 cents; and a policy of cutting prices is proclaimed. This is an indecent demagogic maneuver, which must now be exposed.

The government has also announced the updating of pensions, but it has left out the lowest pensions, with their present poverty levels.

And concurrently with the internal policy, it is also attempting to destroy by external policy the new and dignified presence of the Portugal of April in the international arena. The PPD/CDS government is slavishly obeying the instructions of Carter and serving the interests of North American imperialism. It has unleashed an anti-Sovietism worthy of the CIA. It has disgracefully poisoned the relations with the socialist nations and with

new Portuguese-speaking African nations, instead of acting to diversify foreign relations (without detriment to the traditional friendly relations), as a requisite for safeguarding national independence and a policy of peace.

With a policy of this kind, the national economic situation, refuting the promises and demagoguery of the so-called AD [Democratic Alliance], is continuing to deteriorate.

This year, the rate of growth of the GNP will quite likely be below 3 percent; inflation will rise to over 20 percent; the deficit in the balance of trade will amount to between 180 and 200 million contos. The deficit in the balance of current transactions will reach about 50 million contos; the public debt will exceed 400 million; the foreign debt totals 350 million, of which sum the state owes 135 million; and the deficit in the OGE [General State Budget] could amount to 150 million contos.

And it is for this kind of policy that the reactionary parties are attempting to destroy the democratic institutions and remain in the government through subversion of the rules of democracy and the conversion of the next elections into a masquerade typical of the time of Salazar and Caetano.

The bill for a new electoral law has not yet been made public, but from what right wing politicians and newsmen have hinted, it is to be expected that, with that bill and with a citizenship law, the government will try to make a substantial reinforcement in the number of deputies based on emigration, by means of a disgraceful process of manipulation and absentee ballots; it will try to institutionalize the absentee ballots in asylums and hospitals, under the pretext of facilitating voting for the disabled in a humanitarian manner; it will try to increase the vote through correspondence; and it will challenge the principle of proportionality, perhaps with a new division of the electoral districts.

We are struggling and we shall continue to struggle so that such an adulteration of democratic standards will not succeed; and we trust that it will not succeed.

#### Coup-Oriented Destabilization: a PPD/CDS Strategy

The entire policy of the government and the reactionary forces backing it is, in its essence and its goals, a policy of destabilization and coup.

The reactionary forces are well aware that, if the institutions lead a normal democratic existence, the days of the Sa Carneiro government are numbered, and its precarious and incidental majority in the Assembly of the Republic will not last beyond the next elections.

There the reactionary forces are making a frenetic effort to destabilize the political situation, the economic situation, the social situation and the military situation, so as once again to lead the regime to an impasse conducive to a right wing pronouncement or military coup.



Since 25 April, experience has proven that, every time the reactionaries accuse the left of planning a coup, it is because they, the reactionaries, are planning one.

Hence, a few days ago, when the government media and the entire reactionary press started the rumor about a coup that the military in the Council of the Revolution were supposed to be planning, that rumor had the virtue of revealing that the reactionaries, in their plan for the destabilization and elimination of the democratic system, were considering an eventual counter-revolutionary coup.

The pressure and blackmail used daily against the president of the republic and the Council of the Revolution clearly represent a constant ultimatum: Either those organs of sovereignty submit to the reactionary parties and give their support to unconstitutional decisions, laws and proposals to destroy the system, or (as they threaten) the reactionary forces will come in confrontation with them, in an attempt to bring them down.

The reactionary parties are engaged in an intensive campaign and all-encompassing action to immobilize and paralyze those organs of sovereignty, to prevent their intervention and, eventually, to lead to their dismissal.

We must be extremely watchful regarding the destabilizing maneuvers and coup-oriented action which the government and the reactionary forces are carrying out at present and will intensify during the coming months.

Through constant maneuvers and coup-oriented action, the reactionaries are trying to give the impression that they have strength and initiative, and are directing national political activity.

But can the destabilizing maneuvers and coup-oriented action be a sign of strength? Can they be a sign that the PPD and CDS are filled with confidence?

No. The PPD and CDS are not filled with confidence. What they are filled with is fear.

Fear that the government will not even last until the elections, and this is not so impossible as it may appear to some people. Fear that they will be unable to impose on the country a new unconstitutional and undemocratic electoral law which will guarantee them a continued majority in the Assembly of the Republic even if the number of their voters declines drastically. Fear that the plan to impose the unconstitutional farce of a Salazar-type referendum will not succeed. Fear that, if elections are held, they will be defeated, kept to a minority and run out of the government, if this does not happen sooner.

The recent expression (by Sa Carneiro himself, according to EXPRESSO) of the notion of early presidential elections (by June or July, 3 months before



the elections for the Assembly of the Republic) is another index of the nervousness, insecurity and fear of the Reactionary Alliance parties.

The coup-oriented nature of such a completely unconstitutional proposal is so obvious that it reveals, in itself, the goals of Sa Carneiro and Freitas do Amaral.

It must be remembered that the term of the current president does not end until 14 January 1981, that the presidential elections can take place up until 8 and 15 December (first and second ballot), and that the president of the republic, according to the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution, has authorization not to promulgate or make a political veto of any law of the government or the Assembly, and may dismiss the prime minister if he wishes. Whether or not it falls, it is a sword dangling over the head of reactionary power.

Early presidential elections could, therefore, solve many problems for the reactionaries.

What could the reactionary parties be seeking with such a moving ahead?

They might want to paralyze the organ of sovereignty of the president of the republic 3 months before the elections for the Assembly of the Republic and 7 months before the end of the current president's term in office. They might want to have a completely free hand in the government and the Assembly. They might want to be able to make all the laws they wish, including the new unconstitutional electoral law. They might want to be free of any possibility of being dismissed. They might want all this. And what they might want is so much, so brazen and so obvious that we could say: "Do you want it?"

As soon as they launched the balloon of the early presidential elections, they launched another balloon: that of early legislative elections. And, immediately thereafter, still another one: that of Spínola's candidacy for the presidency of the republic. Balloons, balloons and more balloons.

A distinction must be made between the balloons of ideological diversion and the real destabilizing coup-oriented ones.

Insofar as balloons are concerned, the purpose is to put a new balloon of a reactionary essence in the center of political speculation and debate, on a permanent basis, so as to distract attention from the really important problems. The best thing to do is not attach any significance to them. They will explode by themselves.

As for the destabilizing coup-oriented ones, they are dangerous to restrain. They must be exposed and combated, and prevented from materializing in any way.

The coup backers in politics can have the same experience as in judo. Sometimes, the one practicing it is felled by the force of his own blow.

If there is carefulness and skill, the adversary's blow can cause his own downfall.

If the democratic forces are careful and determined, the same thing could happen to the reactionary Sa Carneiro government.

#### **The United, Organized Workers' and People's Movement Is Invincible**

The huge workers' and people's movement, at the height of its progress, shows that the Portuguese people are staunchly determined to defend their rights and liberties against the PPD/CDS government. It shows that the social base of support for the government is becoming rapidly curtailed, and that thousands of the electorate who voted for the Reactionary Alliance now regret it, and are rising up against the government.

The great mass struggles are taking place with concrete goals, giving a prompt response to the measures detrimental to the vital interests of the workers and the popular masses.

The workers' battles on behalf of collective bargaining and against the declaration of enterprises as "in a difficult economic situation" constitute a vast, powerful mass movement in which nearly 1.3 million workers have participated between January and the present, more than 900,000 of them in strikes and work stoppages.

We congratulate here, on the brilliant success of their work stoppages and strikes, the railroad workers, whose strike was joined 100 percent; the highway workers, whose strike was joined 96 percent; the workers from the Rail Company, 100 percent; Trans-Tagus, 100 percent; Metropolitan, 100 percent; TAP [Portuguese Airlines]; the merchant marine, coastal trawling fisheries, cod fishing and sardine fishing; the Porto mass transport workers, those from ANA-EP, the baking industry, Avila Cordage, Portucel, the petrochemical industry, the garage and fuel industry and the quick-setting concrete industry; the paramedic technicians, those from RDP [Portuguese Radio Broadcasting System], and from the news media; from some sectors of public administration, and others.

We congratulate the workers on the major victories that they have achieved, and on their success in unblocking the freeze, and having the collective contracts published.

We congratulate the workers on the large rallies, demonstrations, plenary meetings and many other forms of mass struggle.

We congratulate the metal workers, the textile and chemical workers, the iron and steel, cellulose, cardboard, hotel and tannery workers; and also the resin and bank workers, the pharmacy assistants, the workers at the Lajes base and many others.

The struggle on the enterprise level, particularly against layoffs, has also acquired vast coverage.

From here we congratulate the workers from nearly 500 firms who have waged serious battles, including strikes in 192 firms, between January and the present.

From here we voice our complete solidarity with the workers from Plessey, Standard, ECA, Manuel Henriques Textile, the Altis Hotel and many other business firms wherein the management, with backing from the government, has proposed the layoff of thousands of workers.

The struggle against the increased cost of living has also attained extraordinary breadth, with rallies and demonstrations in many cities and towns.

From here we congratulate the promoters of those actions, especially the trade union organizations and the united women's organizations, on the magnificent work that they have done.

It is only fair to underscore and place in the top rank the heroic struggle of the agrarian reform workers who, day after day, put up opposition to the brutal action of the government, backed by the GNR, with their feet firmly planted and their heads raised high.

The struggle of the agrarian reform workers, in constant, large meetings and demonstrations, and action to resist the government's illegalities, is a lofty example of class consciousness, of political understanding and of valor and heroism.

From here we congratulate the agrarian reform workers, men, women and youth, assuring them of the active support of the Communists and workers from the other sections of the country.

The provocation against agrarian reform is constant and dangerous. It demands great vigilance and great equanimity.

And not only toward the provocation from the right wing. There must also be vigilance toward certain politicians who, using ultrarevolutionary language, end up going along with the reactionaries.

When Otelo S. de Carvalho goes to Alentejo and makes appeals for armed struggle, mixed with attacks on the PCP, whom do such appeals serve?

Is he not playing along with the reactionaries who, now accusing the workers of Alentejo of armed action and of planning insurrection, are trying to create excuses for the even more violent use of military forces against the workers?

Now when there is no military power available, instead of preaching armed struggle to the workers, while at the same time insulting the Communists, instead of systematically creating division in the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] which led the captains' movement to dissolution and extinction, it would have been better, when he had the powerful COPCON [Continental Operations Command] forces under his command, to have used them to defend the revolution.

The mark of real revolutionaries is not irresponsible, ultrarevolutionary verbiage, but rather concrete action in concrete situations.

Agrarian reform will be heroically defended by the workers, with the backing of a great movement of solidarity, and not by pseudorevolutionary talkers.

The movement of solidarity with agrarian reform has acquired impressive size in virtually all districts.

Making a still quite incomplete and provisional assessment, over 80 trade unions, as well as syndicate unions and federations, promoted hundreds of work stoppages from north to south. In the Lisbon industrial belt, there were work stoppages in over 120 firms, with nearly 90,000 workers participating. Nearly 120,000 people participated in the meetings and demonstrations (not counting Porto and Santarem, the information on which we do not have yet). It is known that nearly 500 plenary meetings have already been held, attended by tens of thousands of workers. The propaganda that has been disseminated totaled many hundreds of thousands of units.

These acts of solidarity clearly show what agrarian reform represents to the Portuguese people, and to democratic Portugal.

Agrarian reform is not the cause of the agrarian reform workers alone. It is the cause of all workers; it is the cause of all democrats; it is the cause of the Portugal of April. That cause will triumph.

The government has been shocked by the extent of the resistance and popular struggle. It has been shocked by the workers' high degree of political, civic and patriotic awareness. It has been shocked by the inspiring unity of the workers.

In order to downgrade the deep significance of the huge mass movement that is now under way, the reactionaries explain this fact as an alleged "brain-washing" of the workers by the PCP.

The workers have a keen awareness of the national situation, the government's policy, and the critical importance of agrarian reform in the lives of the people, the country and the democratic system.

What enlightened the workers, and "brain-washed" them, was life itself; it was their own personal discovery of the exploitation by the landholders and of reactionary violence.

What enlightened the workers, and "brain-washed" them was the result of their own work in the UCPs/Cooperatives, and the improvement in the welfare of their families and children which agrarian reform brought them. What enlightened the workers, and "brain-washed" them was the constant, dedicated, tireless action that the Portuguese Communist Party has always carried out for the workers, their just cause and their just struggle.

"Brain-washing" is attempted by the news media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines, etc.) controlled by the PPD and CDS, which put forth the biggest lies, the worst ideological poison and the vilest slander.

But they have not succeeded, nor will they succeed in deceiving the working masses; nor will they prevent the rapid progress of their struggle.

The working class and the popular masses play a deciding role in the evolution of the national political situation.

The united, organized workers' and people's movement is invincible.

The workers' and people's movement has a powerful, glorious labor organization, the CGTI-IN (General Federation of Portuguese Workers/National Inter-sindical), whose recent Third Congress, in which 1,112 delegates representing 256 trade unions with over 1.6 million workers, participated, was another affirmation of the workers' unity, and of the fact that the divisive operations, despite the millions coming from abroad to back them, and despite the support from governments and parties, have suffered a definite failure.

The workers' and people's movement has the strong, steadfast organization of Workers Committees in business firms, whose activity, democratic formation and association with the masses must be maintained and reinforced.

It has strong movements of small and medium-sized farmers which are at the height of expansion, valid evidence of which is the recent convening of the great Meeting of Farmers and Agriculturists Organizations of Portugal, held in Coimbra on 23 March, in which delegations from 458 organizations participated, with a total of 1,200 delegates and over 6,000 guests.

It has a strong progressive movement of Portuguese intellectuals.

It has the growing participation of organizations and movements of small and medium-sized merchants and manufacturers, with strong movements of retirees and disabled people.



It has movements and organizations of the youth, who play a key role in the present and future struggle of our people; and from here we fraternally congratulate them on National Youth Day, being marked today in memory of a youth camp which was besieged by the PIDE [International and State Defense Police] exactly 33 years ago, and its participants jailed because of the mere fact that they wanted to live in coexistence and brotherhood.

It has the organized participation of women, always in the front ranks of the struggle, setting examples everywhere of combativeness and initiative, and possessing strong organized united movements.

And it has a revolutionary party completely in the service of the people and the fatherland. A party which has fought and will continue to fight untiringly, whatever the circumstances, in defense of the interests of the people, the April conquests, liberties and democracy. A party which has such deep roots in the working class and the popular masses that it can withstand all storms, and emerge from them constantly reinforced and trained for new battles. A party which is being increasingly recognized as a necessary, irreplaceable and indispensable party for the defense, consolidation and continuation of the democratic system. A party which increasingly deserves its title as a party of truth, hope and the future: the Portuguese Communist Party.

Within the framework of the institutions, and using the liberties and rights which the system grants to citizens, the workers' and people's movement will undergo further development, will continue forward, will defeat the reactionaries and will insure the defense of the Portugal of April.

#### **Bring Down the Government, Win the Next Elections**

The major, decisive political battle which the workers' and people's movement and the democratic forces are waging at present, in defense of the democratic system, in addition to staunch opposition to the counterrevolutionary offensive on all the fronts wherein it is under way, has two major objectives: to bring down the government and win the next elections.

The PPD deputy, Pedro Roseta, said today in the Assembly of the Republic that, because of the results of the elections of 2 December, the government received a mandate until the next elections. That is pure nonsense. According to the Constitution, there are no governments of legislature, and a prime minister and a government can be brought down in many different ways.

However, it is significant that Mr Roseta has theorized, in an attempt to prove that the government has a right to govern until the elections. If the reactionaries feel a need to invent arguments to justify their government's remaining until the elections, it is because they are fearful that it will fall beforehand.

Is that possible? Yes, it is possible.

First, because the Portuguese people are rising up powerfully against a policy of illegalities, destruction, violence and the sacrifice of the interests of the Portuguese population for the exclusive benefit of the big capitalists, the large property owners and the group of speculators and parasites of foreign imperialism.

Secondly, because the government is not solving any of the nation's problems; rather, it is making all of them worse.

Thirdly, because the PPD/CDS government has become discredited within a short time in the eyes of its own electorate, with thousands upon thousands of Portuguese men and women who voted for the Reactionary Alliance now expressing desperation and regret. The government is receiving increasingly less support, and its isolation will increase as it continues to rule.

Mota Pinto thought that he was as secure as a rock, too; and he fell.

There is not merely a just demand, but a real possibility and requirement that is growing and being expressed in the cry heard from north to south in the country, during the powerful mass actions of recent weeks: "The struggle continues; out with Sa Carneiro!"

The second great objective which will dominate national political activity during the coming months is the elections for the Assembly of the Republic, which are due to take place in late September or early October.

All the democratic forces, and all the Portuguese people, must have an exact idea of what those elections could mean to the future of the nation's existence.

In order to continue living in liberty, and to continue living in a democratic country, it is a prime and essential requisite that we defeat the reactionary parties in the elections, making them a minority in the Assembly of the Republic again.

In order to do this, serious battles will have to be waged from now on, so that the elections will take place under democratic conditions, and so that there will be no changes in the electoral law, as the reactionaries want.

If the elections are held under democratic conditions, the basic requisites for defeating the Reactionary Alliance will exist.

The defeat of the reactionaries will contribute greatly to a democratic alternative, but it is not a democratic alternative in itself.

When the reactionary forces are reduced to a minority in the Assembly of the Republic again, the political problem that will be posed then is the formation of a democratic government. And, in order to form a democratic

government, there will have to be an agreement among the majority democratic parties, or at least the combined backing of the democratic parties, to provide support for a government in the Assembly.

The PS [Socialist Party] is spreading the illusion that if a so-called "Front for Progress" were to oppose the so-called AD, it could defeat the AD in the elections and constitute an alternative by itself.

That is an illusion which could lead the PS to another electoral defeat.

The division of the democratic forces, when faced with the united reactionary forces, put the former in an inferior position in the electoral area and with the existing election system.

In the present correlation of political forces, a democratic alternative, with majority backing in the Assembly of the Republic, requires (as the PCP emphasizes) an understanding between the leading democratic parties, namely, the PCP and PS.

Any initiatives which would tend to divide the democratic forces objectively serve the reactionary parties, and give them a greater chance of success.

Otelo S. de Carvalho's and the FUP's [Popular Unity Force] running in the legislative elections has one essential purpose: to try to hamper the progress of the APU [United People's Alliance] and the PCP.

It is no coincidence that the PS' National Committee (which established as one of the PS' goals in the next elections "impeding the growth of the APU") has Otelo S. de Carvalho, a columnist for PORTUGAL HOJE.

And it is also no coincidence that the entire reactionary press, while simultaneously running a raging campaign against the PCP, is fabricating praise for Otelo S. de Carvalho.

Moreover, some leaders of the right wing parties are outspoken. They claim that Otelo S. de Carvalho's running could have the advantage of impeding the PCP's progress.

The reactionary forces are quite well aware that another reinforcement of the APU in the next elections and another increase in the number of PCP deputies are a key factor for making the formation of a democratic government possible.

Therefore, they are encouraging and backing anything that could hamper the progress of the APU and the PCP.

In the last elections, the leftist groups now in collusion with Otelo S. de Carvalho in the FUP had tens of thousands of votes which were lost votes, because, in all, they elected only one deputy. In some instances, those

votes could have made the election of another deputy from the APU possible. Wasted on leftist candidates without any chance of being elected, they allowed for the election of more right wing deputies.

The concentration of the maximum number of democratic votes in the APU is the only way of defeating the reactionaries in the next elections, and of paving the way for the formation of a democratic government.

We are here today at this rally to express our active solidarity toward agrarian reform.

This action of ours is combined with many others being carried out all over the country in the magnificent functions for support and solidarity toward the revolution's most beautiful conquest.

Agrarian reform will be defended; agrarian reform will triumph.

Just as the heroic agrarian reform workers are heroically defending their land, their livestock, their machinery, their fields, their employment, their bread, their future and the future of their children, all of us, in all sectors of national life and throughout the entire country, hands joined, feet planted firmly on the ground, with indestructible will and confidence, must fight on behalf of the vital interests of the Portuguese people, on behalf of all the revolution's conquests, and on behalf of Portugal's free and democratic future.

The reactionary parties should not chant victory too soon. The people are the ones who give the orders. The people will end up ordering the reactionary government to leave, and ordering the establishment of a democratic government which will serve the people and the country.

The reactionaries will be defeated; the Portugal of April will continue.

Long live the unity of the workers and the unity of democrats!

Long live agrarian reform!

Long live the Portugal of April!

Long live the Portuguese Communist Party!

2909

CSO: 3101

## GOTHENBURG ECONOMY BUOYED BY OIL EQUIPMENT ORDERS

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 10 Mar 80 p 2

[Text] Gothenburg is putting on a smile. Spokesmen for the city whom one encounters during visits to different institutions seem less pessimistic than a year or so ago. In spite of the fact that the crisis within the shipbuilding industry still is not solved, and in spite of the fact that sub-contractors are still having problems, reasons for rejoicing are beginning to appear on the horizon.

Volvo has shown a 1-billion kronor profit and the other large industry in the province, the Swedish Ball-bearing Company, is reporting a profit again after some difficult years.

But, most importantly, the Arendal shipbuilding company has found a new area of production, which looks very promising. Originally this shipyard was constructed for fast shipbuilding, but now the company focuses on constructing and producing equipment in the drilling for oil at sea. Off shore rigs have already been delivered and more are waiting. Arendal is also making housing platforms for the Gothenburg-based company Consafe, which in turn will rent them for oil drilling projects.

Consafe, created by Christer Eriksson, a sea captain, has just gone into partnership with Volvo. He started out making containers and went on to building the floating housing units. His idea is a refreshing example of an innovation which now will also benefit the shipbuilding industry.

Another reason for rejoicing is the new departure of the Stena shipbuilders into support systems for oil drilling in the North Sea. They will produce specialized ships as well as drill rigs and will, hopefully, bring orders to shipbuilders in the city.

In a similar way the Gothenburg region can count on indirect advantages from the business of Volvo Petroleum. This branch of Volvo will participate in oil drilling off the coast of Norway. Pehr G. Gyllenhammar, general manager of Volvo, has stressed many times that this business will result in orders for equipment from Swedish manufacturers.



There are approximately 900 engineering plants--most of them small to medium-sized--in Gothenburg. By virtue of their proximity to Volvo and the new offshore industry they stand a good chance of becoming involved in the business. Volvo's acquisition of 30 percent of the shares of Consafe proves that Gyllenhammar is serious about this collaboration.

Add to this the fact that already there is a great deal of research in maritime technology at Chalmers' Technical University and at Gothenburg University plus hopes of founding an institute for maritime technology here and the picture is clear: this city has found a new leg to stand on industrially....

This is significant for many of the smaller industries. Many of them have served as sub-contractors to the shipbuilders. Now that demands for deliveries gradually decrease, they are faced with the threat of having to change production and finding new customers.

This is not very easy once you have become used to living without developing new products and marketing. Some of these companies have made the transition successfully. Many of them have profited from a special local aid program offered to small industries in the Gothenburg region.

But many small companies are faced with the possibility of bankruptcy, when this upward trend is over and their normal market shrinks to a minimum level decided by the Riksdag. These companies often deliver their products to shipbuilders in other parts of the country too.

This decision by the Riksdag will also affect employment in the Gothenburg region to a great extent. In 1970 the city had 7,000 persons who were unemployed or who participated in training provided by the national employment service. In 1980 that figure has gone up to approximately as many new employees as were forced to leave the shipbuilding industry.

These proportions also show clearly that all the talk about shipbuilding workers not wanting to switch to working for Volvo probably is exaggerated.

Even though there are no statistical figures to prove it, a great portion of the 7,500 or so shipbuilders in question here must have moved to the neighboring industry on the Hising Island (i.e. Volvo).

To the extent they have not done so, they may have ended up in the Project 80 Company, which is a subsidiary of the state-owned Swedyard Company. At the Gota shipyards there were about 1,600 superfluous positions which had to be out at the inception of the project in September of 1979.

Through a selection process, which was not obstructed by the Aman laws, those blue-collar and white-collar workers who could most easily be dispensed with were picked out and transferred to P 80. This way they could stay with the concern and receive the same pay as before.

In P 80 they have received training or re-tooling or have been given other individual attention which has made it possible for them to get jobs in other companies and consequently avoid being unemployed for a transitional period of time.

This process, which, obviously, has required a great effort on the part of the staffs involved, has been successful as far as the statistics show. Among the 1,600 there was a group which could not be used on the market due to bad health or other reasons. Of the remaining 900 or so, 500 have been placed in other companies.

This is an innovation in the politics of employment which really merits treatment in an entire chapter of its own.

8901

CSO: 3109

## ARMY OFFICER URGES INCREASED ATTENTION TO TRAINING

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 1 Mar 80 p 3

[Article by Hoddar Stjernsvard, colonel in charge of Gotland's regiment]

[Text] Generally discussions of Swedish defense deal mainly with weapons and technical matters, only rarely do they deal with the quality of the people involved. When I have attempted to convince people that we can afford to keep an efficient defense, I have talked very little about the human beings involved. Our defense is expensive. Salaries go up constantly, and so do benefits, not to mention rents, construction costs, fuel and, last but not least, training.

Our present training cannot be considered poor. But in an attempt to find areas for budget cuts, the idea of shortening the time of training and even cutting out certain areas of training for some has been presented. For economic reasons, basic training has been cut down to a minimum as it is. The shortest training program, that is the one for categories G and F among the enlisted ones, is 7 and 1/2 months. In most European countries figures for military service training are generally much higher than in Sweden.

One way of shortening the training periods is to have 6-month terms so that there could be two groups of trainees per year. This would be reason enough to suspend a number of military units.

## Pinning Our Hopes

Not even the wildest efficiency expert would dream of manipulating the training for civilians, like for example physicians, firemen, welders or railroad engineers, in such a way that their specific professional abilities would be questioned. Nobody wants to question the physician's ability to operate or the fireman's ability to put out a fire or the welder's ability to weld securely or the railroad engineer's ability to conduct his train in a safe manner. But military training tends to be dealt with in a different way. Why? Obviously because everybody pins their hopes on the idea that these soldiers will never have to face the most cruel and trying thing there is, namely war.

The argument is unassailable; it even sounds humane and demonstrates social awareness, until the day comes when these poor half-trained people have to perform their horrible tasks in reality and fail and become innocent victims of an irresponsible and opportunist line of politics.

#### Not an Honest Chance

If we create a basic training program that is shorter than the present one, we would cross a very important line of distinction, namely that between soldier training and militia training. A shorter training program than the current one, which has already been compressed considerably, would not produce soldiers with an honest chance to manage their tasks, much less units ready for combat. It would produce a militia whose possible use in combat would be completely dependent on their additional training. And who really believes that we would have such a respite, allowing for considerable additional training of our forces, if we were on the brink of war. The regular military refresher course is exactly what the term says, its purpose is to refresh previously acquired knowledge and abilities as well as to weld soldiers together into an efficient military unit.

The ultimate value of the training is connected to its length and content. The contents depend on the tasks of the particular soldier and his unit. There is also another important factor, namely the milieu or setting in which the unit might possibly be expected to perform its duties. The settings of war have, of course, always been loathsome. The setting of combat has become worse as the efficiency of the weaponry has increased. Whether one bases one's figures on atomic war or on war with conventional weapons, the devastation by fire which now can be directed at specific targets with great precision is much greater today than during World War II.

Today the soldier and his unit are exposed to greater pressures and greater demands on independent action than ever before. Considering these facts, we have to make the training realistic and goal-oriented. Is that the kind of training our soldiers are getting today?

#### Little Motivation

It is quite natural for a country like Sweden, which has been spared from war for nearly 170 years, to find it difficult to look at the demands of a defense in a war situation with the same kind of realism and insight as do countries which were hit by the torments of World War II or which have experienced the pains of war even more recently. It is difficult to incite Swedish young people to do military service or take on the tasks of defense.

Very often the demands of the job are clouded by the sheer realism of questions regarding compensation, salary, shortening of work hours and time off and similar issues. This may be normal. After all it is merely a reflection of the issues which have such a prominent place in our society, and our defense certainly cannot be removed from the rest of society. But today we run a great risk of getting away from a training program which corresponds to the demands of war.

A training program which at least attempts to approach the demands of war cannot be considered controversial. Our recruits want reliable, meaningful and realistic training. We rarely hear any complaints about that. The first goal of officer training programs must be to bring out devotion and enthusiasm for the task of training and solidifying friendships and making groups of friends into efficient, combative units. Efforts to shorten the work week are not in agreement with this goal.

Our defense is built on general military service. One look at the map and an awareness of the comparatively sparse population which has to defend this big country will prove quite clearly that our country's entire military capacity must be put into effect. We want an army of the people, not a specialized and expensive, so-called elite defense. That kind of defense is not sufficient and would not be a matter of interest for the entire population. But these recruits as well as their officers have a right to demand satisfactory training programs and weapons. It is not a matter of mounting a luxurious defense or of copying the super powers; it is merely a matter of efficiency in the correct sense of the word.

Even in a time of economic crises--as we have in the entire Western World without any apparent limits on armaments--deficient training or deficient equipment can never be excused. Good training, as well as good equipment for our defense, is just as important a part of our society as for example, good education, good roads and a good social welfare program.

8901

CSO: 3109



## LABOR EXPERIENCES UNION EXPLOSION

Istanbul B.GUN in Turkish 13 Apr 80 pp 5-8

[Text] Inflation is basically an economic term. Briefly, it means economic disequilibrium characterized by a rise in the general price level. A substantial increase in the volume of money in circulation is also described as inflation. However, the term has also come to be used to refer to a disproportionate and unplanned abundance of many things other than economic. Some time ago, we used to talk of an "inflation of custard shops" when the number of such shops in Istanbul multiplied. Over time, custard shops were converted into bank branches, and when we ended up with a bank at every street corner, we talked of a "bank inflation."

Recently, we have been hearing complaints about a "union inflation." Official statistics for 1978 indicated that there were 250,000 unionized workers, but as many as 879 labor unions in Turkey, and that was characterized as inflation. Now, according to officials, the number of labor unions in Turkey surpassed 1,000 by the close of 1979, or by the beginning of 1980.

Also according to 1978 statistics, there are 2,191,000 workers covered by the social insurance system, but only 50 percent of these workers--1,250,000--are unionized. That is to say, one-half of the workers do not enjoy union rights or benefits.

As the rapidly spreading strikes focused the public attention on the labor field, specifically the lack of peace in the labor field, voices critical of the large number of labor branches--33 in all--and a proliferation of labor unions were heard with increasing frequency.

Not counting the unions with mass power, such as the Metal Federation\*, Tek-Gide Is, Teksif, Yol Is and the Municipal Workers Federation under the Turki-Is, and the Maden-Is, Genel Is, Lastik Is, OLEYIS and Tekstil of the DISK, whose combined membership is in the neighborhood of 100,000, the union-worker ratio in the general labor field is roughly 300 workers to 1 union, and that is, officials argue, is not healthy.

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[\*Abbreviations will be expanded in the following pages, under the heading, "Most Powerful Unions."]

## Worker and Employer Unions

Type of Union	1969		1978	
	Worker	Employer	Worker	Employer
Federation	14	1	16	2
Labor branch	234	51	419	57
Regional	116	8	176	13
Local	193	47	180	42
Place of Work	75	2	88	6
Total	632	109	879	120

### Labor Branches

The Labor Branch Regulations, which went into effect in 1964 after the passage of the Labor Unions Law No 274 of 15 July 1963, specified 36 separate branches of labor. Unions were subsequently formed on the basis of that classification. Following several changes in the regulations, the number of labor branches was cut down to 33, but even then, there were far more than the 16 branches adopted by the rest of the world.

The scope of the "food industry," the largest branch of labor which ranks "fifth" in the regulations, is defined as follows:

"The food manufacturing industry encompasses jobs concerned with manufacturing foodstuffs for human consumption. Slaughterhouses: slaughtering, dressing and packing of all types of livestock, poultry and game animals; preparation of meat and dairy products for human consumption; animal and vegetable oil industries (including the soap industry); canning and preservation of all types of food; process of mill products; bread-making and manufacture of all types of food which contain flour or flour products; manufacture of cocoa, chocolate, sweets and similar confectionary goods; cocoa, coffee and salt grinding; process of tea leaves and related jobs; feed industry; production of yeast; beverage and tobacco industries: preparation, refining, blending, distilling and fermentation of distilled, vinous, salt and other liquors, soft drinks, and carbonated beverages; beer factories, nonalcoholic beverages (carbonated soft drinks, fruit juices, etc.); manufacture, packing and transportation [as published] of cigarettes, cigars, pipe tobacco, snuff, chewing tobacco and such, and drying of tobacco and other jobs related to the manufacture and processing of tobacco."

Labor unions where the membership consists of workers employed in the type of work described above fall into the scope of Labor Branch No 5, which is the food industry.

To illustrate how the labor branch is determined, let us take the Turkish Soccer Players Union. It may sound unreasonable at first, but the Soccer Players Union comes under Labor Branch 30, which is "Places of Lodging and Amusement." The scope of the labor branch in question is as follows:

"[It encompasses] jobs in places of lodging, resting and eating, such as hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, lunch counters, pastry shops, coffee-houses; movie houses, theaters and other places of amusement; commercial beaches, outdoor and indoor sports facilities, race tracks, bath-houses, hot springs and mineral springs facilities; sleeping cars, dining cars; catering facilities at airports, services at tourist facilities and jobs related to making and selling of all types of pastries."

The branches of labor listed in the regulations are as follows, in the order they appear in the regulations:

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Agriculture and Forestry   | 20. Energy                            |
| 2. Hunting and Fishing  | 21. Commercial, Clerical, Educational |
| 3. Mining   | 22. Banking and Insurance             |
| 4. Petroleum  | 23. Land Transportation               |
| 5. Food Industry  | 24. Rail Transportation               |
| 6. Sugar  | 25. Marine Transportation             |
| 7. Textile  | 26. Air Transportation                |
| 8. Leather  | 27. Warehousing                       |
| 9. Wood   | 28. Communications                    |
| 10. Paper   | 29. Health                            |
| 11. Press and Broadcast   | 30. Places of Lodging and Amusement   |
| 12. Rubber  | 31. Fine Arts                         |
| 13. Chemicals   | 32. National Defense                  |
| 14. Cement and Soil   | 33. Journalism                        |
| 15. Glass   | 34. General Services                  |
| 16. Metal   |                                       |
| 17. Ship  |                                       |
| 18. Construction (No 18 Building<br>and No 19 Roads have been merged<br>as Construction.) |                                       |

#### Most Powerful Unions

The most powerful among the 1,000 plus unions in Turkey are gathered under the roof of two confederations: Turk-Is (Confederation of Turkish Labor

Unions), founded in 1952, and the DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Labor Unions). The rest of the unions are either independent or members of the NAP (Nationalist Action Party)-affiliated MISK (Confederation of Nationalist Labor Unions), or the NSP (National Salvation Party)-affiliated HAK-IS (Moral Rights Workers) Confederation. Turk-Is officials put the membership of their confederation at 1,836,000. DISK officials say they have about 500,000 members. According to 1978 statistics, there are 1,250,000 unionized members in the country. As to the discrepancy between the two figures, one explanation may be that unions must have acquired new members over the past 2 years. The government's official records and the records kept by labor unions do not always agree, which may be another explanation of the discrepancy.

The Turk-Is, which currently has 32 federations and unions in its fold, is powerful in the public sector, while the DISK's 28 members are generally in the private sector.

Following are the Turk-Is members:

1. TEK GIDA-IS [Turkish Tobacco, Beverage, Food and Allied Workers Union]
2. TEKSIF [Turkish Textile, Garment and Knitting Industry Workers Union]
3. MADEN FEDERASYONU [Turkish Mine Workers Federation]
4. PETROL-IS [Turkish Petroleum, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union]
5. LIKAT-IS [Turkish Longshoremen's Union]
6. DYF-IS [Turkish Railway Workers Federation]
7. TURK DENIZ ULAS-IS FEDERASYONU [Turkish Seamen's Federation]
8. BIF [Turkish Municipal Workers Federation]
9. SEKER-IS [Turkish Sugar Industry Workers Union]
10. BASIN-IS [Turkish Journalists and Press Technicians Union]
11. TUMTIS [Turkish Transport Workers Union]
12. CIMSE-IS [Turkish Cement, Ceramic and Earthenware Industries Workers]
13. TARIM-IS [Turkish Farm Workers Union]
14. DERI-IS [Turkish Leather and Shoe Industry Workers Union]
15. TEZBURD-IS [Turkish Office and Clerical Employees Union]
16. TOREYIS [Turkish Hotel, Restaurant and Amusement Places Workers Union]
17. SELULOZ-IS [Turkish Cellulose and Cellulose Products Workers Union]
18. KAUCUK-IS [Turkish Rubber Workers Union]
19. DOK GEMI-IS [Turkish Port, Dock and Shipbuilding Industry Workers]
20. TURK HARP-IS [Turkish Defense and Allied Workers Union]
21. TES-IS FEDERASYONU [Turkish Energy, Water and Gas Workers Federation]

22. AGAC-IS [Turkish Wood Workers Union]
23. TGS [Turkish Journalists Union]
24. HAVA-IS [Turkish Civil Aviation Workers Union]
25. YOL-IS FEDERASYONU [Turkish State Highways Workers Federation]
26. HABER-IS [Turkish Postal, Telegraph, Telephone, Radio and TV Workers]
27. SAGLIK-IS [Turkish Health Employees Union]
28. KRISTAL-IS [Turkish Glass and Crystal Industry Workers Union]
29. SU-IS [Turkish Dam, Energy, Water and Irrigation Workers Union]
30. KOOP-IS [Turkish Agricultural Cooperatives Employees Union]
31. TURK METAL [Turkish Metal and Allied Workers Federation]
32. TURK-SEN [Turkish Cypriot Labor Unions Federation]

DISK members are the following:

1. ASIS [Turkish Wood Products Workers Union]
2. ASTER-IS [Turkish Military Shipyards and Other Military Establishments of Employment Workers Union]
3. HASIN-IS [Turkish Journalists and Press Industry Workers Union]
4. BAYSEN [Turkish Ministry of Public Works Construction Activity Workers]
5. BANKSEN [Turkish Banking, Insurance and Office Workers Union]
6. DEV MADEN-SEN [Turkish Revolutionary Mineral Exploration and Exploitation Workers Union]
7. DEV SAGLIK-IS [Turkish Revolutionary Health Workers Union]
8. DEV YAPI-IS [Turkish Revolutionary Construction Workers Union]
9. FINDIK-IS [Turkish Hazelnut Industry Workers Union]
10. GENEL-IS [Turkish Public Services Workers Union]
11. GIDA-IS [Turkish Food Industry Workers Union]
12. HUR CAM-IS [Turkish Window Glass, Fiberglass, Mosaic, Glass, Bottle and Glassware Industries Workers Union]
13. KERAMIK-IS [Turkish Porcelain, Cement, Brick and Earthenware Industries Workers Union]
14. ILENICI DERI-IS [Turkish Progressive Leather and Shoe Industries Workers Union]
15. LASTIK-IS [Turkish Rubber Industry Workers Union]
16. LIMTER-IS [Turkish Port and Shipyard Workers Union]
17. MADEN-IS [Turkish Metal and Metal Products Industry Workers Union]



18. NAKLIYAT-IS [Turkish Transport Workers Union]
19. OLEYIS [Turkish Hotel, Restaurant and Amusement Places Workers Union]
20. SINE-SEN [Turkish Movie House Workers Union]
21. SOSYAL-IS [Turkish Social Services Workers Union]
22. PETKIM-IS [Turkish Petroleum and Chemical Industries Workers Union]
23. TIS [Turkish Soil-Water Administration and Farm Workers Union]
24. TEK GES-IS [Turkish Gas, Electric and Water Workers Union]
25. TEKSTIL [Turkish Textile Industry Workers Union]
26. TUMKA-IS [Turkish Paper and Cellulose Industries Workers Union]
27. YENI HABER-IS [New Union of Turkish Postal, Telegraph, Telephone, Radio and Television Workers]
28. YERALTI MADEN-IS [Turkish Underground Mining Industry Workers Union]

In Istanbul alone, there are 47 separate unions in the metal workers field. Labor branches, according to the number of unions they have, are ranked as follows: Banking and Insurance, 36; Construction and Road Building, 32; Office and Places of Amusement, 26; Marine Transportation, 26; Energy, 18; Textile, 17; Food, 15; General Services, 13; Land Transportation, 12, and Petrochemicals, 10.

#### Former and Current Leaders

Overabundance of labor branches and unions is not the only issue. Management and the leadership of the unions in particular, also have become major topics of controversy in recent times. From the latter part of 1940's until early 1970's, administrative officials, and particularly "presidents general," of Turkish unions remained in their posts for long periods of time. By mideventies, however, things were beginning to change. The society entered a period of rapid changes, and the turnover in union leadership became more frequent.

Most of the leaders, who can be described as the fifties generation, have been replaced in the past several years. One was Seyfi Demirey, the noted president general of the Turk-Is, who went into union management in 1946 when he formed the Beer Industry Workers Union in Istanbul and stayed in the movement 28 more years, during which time he helped form the Turk-Is in 1952 and served as the confederation's president between 1960 and 1964. Halil Tunc, who followed Demirey to the presidency, had 29 years of experience in union management. He served 5 years, and then, in 1979, stepped down and retired from "active service."

Another veteran union leader, Kemal Turkler, whose 25-year service makes him one of the senior members of the Turkish labor movement, is still at the helm of the Maden-Is [metal workers]. Abdullah Basturk, who succeeded Turkler to the DISK presidency, has been in the movement two decades and

remains active as both the president general of DISK and president of the Genel-İs [public services]. Ibrahim Denizciler, another member of the fifties generation, who is the president general of Turk-İs, has been the only president the Tek Gıda-İs [food] has known in the past 13 years.

All the other veteran leaders, however, have been replaced in recent years. Two of these changes were significant and one involved a union in Turk-İs, the other in DISK. İsmail Topkar, a 25-year veteran in union management, who had served 11 years as the head of the Petrol-İs of the Turk-İs Confederation, relinquished his post in the union's 1978 convention to Cevdet Selvi, a member of the younger generation. Topkar, nevertheless, remains in the union movement as the representative of the Turk-İs First Region.

Rıza Güven, vice president of DISK, whose union management career began in 1951, stepped down from the leadership of the Tekstil [textiles] after 14 years and left it in 1979 to a younger man, Ridvan Budak.

#### Length of Union Presidency

Unions whose presidents have served several terms are generally in the Turk-İs Confederation. In the Su-İs [water], for example, people who were elected to the presidency since the formation of the union in 1950, have remained in that post 15 years on the average. The Metal Workers Federation, which was founded in 1958 and is currently under the leadership of Kemal Özer, ranks second with a 14-year average and is followed by the Kaucuk-İs [rubber], where presidents averaged 13 years. Fevzi Basturk, who became the president general of the Kaucuk-İs when the union was formed, is still in that post. In the Tek Gıda-İs ([formed in] 1952), Tekstil [textile] (1947), Petrol-İs (1950) and Selulöz-İs (1952), the average length of the presidential term is 12 years.

Turk-İs members where the presidential term is 10 years on the average are the following: Liket-İs [longshoremen] (1963), DYİ-İs [railroad] (1952), Seker-İs [sugar] (1963), Deri-İs [leather] (1948), Yol-İs Federation [road] (1961), Sağlık-İs [health] (1961) and Kristal-İs [glass] (1965).

In the other Turk-İs unions, the average length of term ranges from 5 to 9 years. The union where the president has changed most frequently is the Turkish Journalists Union (1952). The average length of service there is 3 years.

In the DISK Confederation, President General Kemal Türkler of the Maden-İs has the distinction of being the union president with the longest term in office--25 years. He is followed by 20-year veterans Abdullah Basturk of the Genel-İs, Demirhan Tuncay of the Gıda-İs and Mukbil Zırtıoğlu, former president of the OLEYİS [amusement]. Ibrahim Çetin, meanwhile, has been at the helm of the Dev Yapi-İs [construction] for 12 years, that is, since the formation of the union. Others who have been their union's president from the beginning--5 years on the average--are: Akcin Koc of the Fındık-İs [hazelnut], Kenan Budak of the İllerici Deri-İs [leather], Mehmet

Rulbul of the Nakliyat-Is [transport], Kemal Yilmaz of the Tumka-Is [paper] and Cetin Uygur of the Maden-Is [metal]. Meanwhile, at the Lantik-Is [rubber], Riza Kues has passed the 25-year mark in union leadership.

#### Leaders' Views

Ismail Topkar (former head of the Petroleum Workers Union), noting that in West Germany union leaders serve 24 to 25 years on the average, says:

"I favor long terms of service for union leaders. I don't think frequent changes in union management is a good thing. Experience is the sole capital of a person who strives and works for the welfare of the society. It is to everyone's benefit to have union managers who have survived repeated challenges within a free and democratic union movement, who are industrious and have served honorably and rationally, to remain in their posts for an extended period of time. Experience is the diplomacy of union management."

Riza Guven (formerly with the Textile Workers Union), a 29-year veteran of the union movement, commented on the same issue as follows:

"Whether union leaders should be changed every 4 to 5 years or not is immaterial. The important thing is to translate the concept of 'democracy in the union movement' into action. How long a union president's term should be is something the union membership should decide. That is why, DISK stresses the right of its grassroots members to have a vote in such matters."

Still another view is expressed by Ibrahim Orturk, one of the opponents of Erdogan Balci's 8-year-old leadership of the Hava-Is [aviation]. Orturk, who joined the ranks of professional union managers only 3 years ago and took the helm of the strike-and-lockout-plagued Hava-Is less than 1 year ago, argues:

"We should avoid the practice of keeping people in union leadership for extensive periods of time. However, frequent changes in leadership is just as harmful. The president and other officials of a union must be elected from among the people still active in that particular branch of labor. Union management is the administration of an organization which is above political parties and has a socioeconomic structure of its own."

#### Union Inflation

We asked the same three union leaders why there is a union inflation, how it can be avoided and how the number of labor branches can be cut down.

Riza Guven, vice president of DISK, said:

"There are over 1,000 unions of various types. Most of them have been formed by employees, or circles close to them, as 'place-of-work unions' for the purpose of frustrating the formation of class unions. The situation is delaying the achievement of Union amalgamation in the working class.

"To reduce the number of labor branches from 34 to 16 is a prerequisite for the unity we hope to establish among unions. Another thing is the adoption of the 'referendum' practice which DISK has been advocating for years. It will give the worker the freedom to choose his union, strengthen craft unions, and eliminate 'yellow' [proemployer] unions, thereby cutting back union inflation to a large degree."

Ismail Topkar, Turk-Is First Region representative, says:

"No doubt there is union inflation in Turkey. Every passing day we feel a greaver urgency to organize a strong and responsible union movement. Union inflation must be alleviated through democratic means, and to do that we must amend the regulations pertaining to labor branches. It is possible to reduce 34 branches to 16 which is what they have in West Germany.

"We must, however, note that this period of inflation is already on its way to a close. Workers at the base, who aspire for a strong union, have acquired a consciousness of a strong union. The 'referendum' method will give impetus to their endeavors and enable them to choose their own union. If the referendum practice becomes law, 80 percent of the unions we have today will be eliminated in a matter of 2 years."

Obviously, there is no argument between Turk-Is and Disk leaders on the need to reduce the number of labor branches and the adoption of the referendum system.

The "brandnew" president of the Hava-Is, Ibrahim Ozturk, has the following to say on the subject:

"There is a union inflation. Interference of political parties into the matter and their efforts to establish control over one confederation or another fueled the union inflation. The labor branch regulations must be amended to put an end to this inflation. At the present, you can find eight to nine unions within the structure of a single general directorate. We can contain this inflation by simply putting operating rules in the labor branch regulations. Legal adoption of the referendum system is, of course, a definite requisite."

Nonunion technicians knowledgeable in such matters see the "checkoff" system, introduced by the Labor Unions Law, as another source of the union explosion. Under the system, even when a union is not authorized to negotiate a contract at a place of work, it is entitled to collect union dues by having the dues deducted from its members' wages, provided it represents one-fourth of the workers at the place of work. It is argued that this easy method of collecting dues is encouraging the appearance of "pirate" unions.

Recently, even politicians joined in the criticism that there are too many unions and labor branches. The two major, and rival, organizations in the labor field--Turk-Is and DISK--have clearly spelled out their demands:

Reduce the number of labor branches. Recognize the worker's right to choose his union in a referendum. Stop union inflation.

As Naareddin Hodja remarked, you have oil, sugar and flour, why don't you make some dessert? One wonders if some people would rather keep workers "divided" into numerous unions.

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CSO: 4907



## TCP REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES EUROPEAN CP FORUM IN PARIS

TA030831 Voice of Turkish Communist Party [Clandestine] in Turkish to Europe and Turkey 0800 GMT 2 May 80

[Speech delivered by the Turkish Communist Party representative at the "Peace and Disarmament Forum" held by European communist and workers' parties on 28 and 29 April in Paris--read by announcer]

[Text] Dear comrades, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the French Communist Party and the Polish United Workers' Party on behalf of the Turkish Communist Party (TCP) Central Committee for organizing this meeting and for the warm hospitality which we have received.

Comrades, we have reached a new era in international relations. This era is characterized by NATO sovereign circles' and imperialists'--especially U.S. imperialists'--extraordinary attempts to hinder the process of detente, to increase the international tension and to return to the cold war period. As the imperialists' sphere of influence over other countries becomes narrower, they are increasing their aggression, inciting anti-Sovietism and causing the escalation of the arms race. The decisions taken during the 1978 NATO summit meeting in Washington, the NATO decision at the end of 1979 to deploy new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and the obstruction of the ratification of the SALT II treaty by the United States have constituted the steps of this dangerous process.

The hegemonistic Beijing administration acted as the main collaborator of imperialism during this process.

The clear tendency in international relations, however, against the efforts of the NATO sovereign circles and of their collaborators in Beijing to bring back the cold war, is toward strengthening peace and detente. This tendency which deeply affects the lives of all men and which creates better conditions for the class struggles and for the working class in the capitalist countries is the result of the multifaceted [word indistinct] and Leninist peace policies pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This (?tendency) can become the ruling principle with the communist and worker movements, of the national liberation movements growing stronger and

as a result of the struggle of all peace-loving forces in the world, these are the forces that can frustrate the efforts of imperialism and reactionism to harm international detente.

The experiences and gains of the 1970's have added a new dimension to the struggle of the peaceful forces. The difference between NATO's aggression and the Warsaw Pact's peaceful policies was displayed before the wide masses once again when Comrade Brezhnev announced his peace efforts--a historic opportunity to advance detente--in Berlin on the 35th anniversary of the GDR and when, in return, NATO decided to deploy new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

The mass campaigns and demonstrations against the neutron bomb and the nuclear missiles showed that the wishes of the peaceloving circles are no longer abstract desires for peace, but increasingly specific and real aims. The struggle for these specific aims is becoming an integral part of the progressive forces' other struggles. In this way, the anti-imperialist character of the peace struggle is emerging more clearly. The mass demonstrations of the peoples also show that the struggle for continuing the political detente, for stopping the arms race and for disarmament is spreading and is becoming more powerful.

The European continent is of the greatest importance for peace and detente. However, the importance of this struggle is being grasped outside Europe, in Asian, African, Latin American and nonaligned countries as well.

It is not new that, faced with the victories of the basic powers of the world revolutionary process, imperialism becomes angrier and tries to push the world into a new cold war. These efforts had become clear with the obstacles the United States was placing before the SALT II talks during the mid-1970's. The efforts became quite intense with the NATO decision on death missiles in 1979. Today, the ruling NATO circles are trying to use the Soviet Union's generous help to the people of Afghanistan as a pretext for their hegemonistic policies and for provoking the arms race. They are trying to incite anti-Sovietism with stories of a Soviet threat. The Soviet Union extended a helping hand to the people of Afghanistan and gave them military aid based on the appeal of the legitimate Government of Afghanistan and the friendship agreement that had been signed between the two countries. The help was also in line with the UN agreement. This help aimed at defending and protecting Afghanistan's national independence and freedom against foreign attacks. The TCP supported this internationalist attitude from the first day and approved it sincerely.

Comrades, one of the tension spots incited by U.S. imperialism is the region which includes Turkey and which the imperialist centers call the arc of insecurity. The latest military provocation undertaken by the United States against Iran proved that imperialism's activities in this region greatly endanger world peace and that with its expansionist and hegemonistic plans, the Pentagon does not hesitate to bring the world to the brink of a

war disaster. This incident shows how great are the responsibilities of the peace forces, and primarily of the brotherly communist parties.

The Pentagon speeded up its hegemonistic activities in our region especially after the revolutionary developments in Iran and Afghanistan. It is trying to establish a network of its aggressive and spying bases in order to strengthen its military position and to plunder the region's subterranean riches, primarily oil. It aims to use this region for its strategic plans against the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and against national liberation movements.

Turkey has an important role in the plans of the expansionist imperialist circles. Particularly since CENTO's collapse, NATO's higher echelons and the imperialist press have been continuously stressing Turkey's role as imperialism's advanced post in NATO's southeastern flank. The U.S. arms embargo on Turkey has been lifted and Turkey is being placed under heavy military burdens as a result of the so-called military aid extended by the United States. Furthermore, the 26 U.S. bases on our land have resumed intensive operations. Also, a bilateral military agreement that attaches Turkey even more closely to U.S. imperialism was signed recently.

Forty percent of the current expenses of the Turkish Government budget are military expenses. Among the NATO countries, the ratio of military expenses to gross national product per capita is highest in Turkey. The United States is trying to turn Turkey into a springboard against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the peoples of the Middle East. This situation affects the Turkish foreign policy and hinders its friendly relations with its neighbors. The United States which announced that it considers our region, which is thousands of kilometers away from its own country, a region of its national interest, is not hiding the fact that it wants to use the Turkish soil in an attack against Iran. This week, when the United States conducted a military operation against Iran from Turkey, the Turkish Government submitted a bill of war and crisis to the National Assembly. Vesting all administrative authority in the chief of the general staff whenever it is considered necessary, this bill brings the Turkish people face to face with the danger of a military dictatorship and increases the fascist threat in our country on the one hand and constitutes a provocation against the neighboring countries in the Middle East on the other.

Comrades, the increased aggressive activities of imperialism and the strained international situation is in parallel to the deep crisis in Turkey. The reactionary Demirel government, which is closely tied to imperialist positions, is trying to get out of this crisis in ways that can benefit imperialism and the collaborationist monopolist bourgeoisie, in ways that can place the load of the crisis even more heavily on the shoulders of the working people. It is resorting to terrorism. The role of the army in the political life of the country and the effects of militarism on the nation are increasingly growing. One can talk about the existence of a semi-military system of oppression in Turkey. Martial law has been reigning in the

most important provinces of the country for the past 1 and 1/2 years. There are 20,000 political prisoners in the country. More than 100,000 persons have been detained and tortured since the day martial law was declared. Terrorist gangs killed almost 1,500 persons during the past 5 months that the Demirel government has been in power. The sharp point of these attacks is directed against the TCP and other progressive forces which struggle for peace and disarmament, for independence, democracy, social progress and socialism. Our party has been waging its struggles under conditions of illegality for the past 58 years. It is the only illegal Communist Party of Europe. Despite all these difficult conditions, with its elan of the recent years, the TCP has become a nationwide party. It became a power whose efforts are felt in the political life of the country.

Our party is entering its 60th year involved in extensive worker's strikes and with mass demonstrations. It is calling on the widest pro-democracy circles to unite in their struggle against antidemocratic laws, against the attacks of the monopolies of the living standards of the working people, against the bilateral military agreements with the United States, against NATO, against the nuclear depots on our land and against the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

This forum of the European communist and worker parties gives great support to our struggle. This forum, this new initiative proves that the communist struggle is in the foremost ranks of the world peace movement. An appeal to all the European peoples will strengthen the peace movement in our country.

There are forces in Turkey which stand against the imperialist policy of inciting the arms race. The peaceloving forces are closing in their ranks. The Turkish Labor Party, the Turkish Socialist Workers Party, a group of deputies form the RPP and Kurdish democratic groups also attended the latest peace committee congress and joined the committee, thus joining their power with that of the other progressive forces which defend peace. This development is also important from the viewpoint of strengthening the democratic movement in Turkey. The struggle for peace is becoming an extremely effective factor for activating and uniting the widest democratic forces in our country.

The peace and disarmament slogans have become an integral part of all mass activities. Tens of thousands of workers shout slogans of peace and disarmament and condemn NATO in their strikes. There were mass demonstrations in seven provinces against the U.S. death missiles and against the oppressive martial law conditions in Turkey.

Comrades, the Turkish democratic forces attach great importance to international solidarity. That the brotherly parties in Europe organized such a peace and disarmament forum and that they appealed to the European peoples is of great value from the viewpoint of the democratic movement in our country.

This forum indisputably proves the vitality and validity of proletarian internationalism.

The European communist and workers' parties' conference held in Berlin in 1976 and the importance of the communist parties' unity as stressed at that conference are as totally valid today as they were then. The TCP will continue to work with all its might to insure that this dimension of the 1976 Berlin conference is implemented.

Comrades, on behalf of the TCP Central Committee, I approve the draft appeal submitted to the conference.

I thank you for your interest.

CSO: 4907



## BRIEFS

**ALUMINUM PRODUCTION UP**--The Etibank Aluminum Plant in Seydisehir district, Konya will have increased its production capacity by 100 percent by the end of the month. Officials reported that sufficient raw material has been assured with the start of new shipments (bauxite shipments could not be made because of a two year fuel shortage) and that energy needs are being completely met. They said that "until now, production was at 50 percent of capacity. Production has increased with the measures taken. The increase will have hit 100 percent by the end of the month." Officials stated that with the 100 percent increase production will be boosted from 30 to 60 thousand tons a year. They noted that all domestic needs will thus be met by the plant, that importation will be unnecessary, and that major savings in foreign exchange will be assured. [Text] [Istanbul AKSAM in Turkish 13 Apr 80 p 5]

**TWP LEADER ON TRIAL**--Turkish Workers Party General Chairman Behice Boran will go on trial today at 1000 in the Ankara Martial Law Command Court for violating Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code. The Martial Law Military Prosecutor charged in the indictment that TWP leader Boran engaged in communist propaganda in election speeches made on radio and television prior to the 14 October elections. Boran was not present for the charges at her first hearing held on 25 March. She said, "I made clear the bourgeois partys' methods to deceive the people in the addresses I made on TRT." The court panel postponed the hearing until today. [Text] [Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 22 Apr 80 pp 1, 9]

**COMMANDERS RECOMMEND ADDITIONAL PRISONS**--Commanders at the Expanded Martial Law Coordination board meeting held under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel have reportedly suggested that since the existent detention facilities are unable to meet the need for such institutions, the construction of prisons should be accelerated and, in this regard, priority must be given to the construction of more secure prisons with sufficient security measures. Martial Law Commanders pointed out that prisons in the areas under martial law are full and that they are having a difficult time finding a place to house the persons they have arrested, a situation which facilitates jailbreaks. They also reported that this situation is causing uneasiness among security personnel. [Text] [Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 18 Apr 80 p 1]

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WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development

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